LOGIA

A JOURNAL OF LUTHERAN THEOLOGY

Lutheranism in Africa

EPIPHANY 2008 VOLUME XVII, NUMBER 1

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εἴ τις λαλεῖ,
ὡς λόγια Θεοῦ

LOGIA is a journal of Lutheran theology. As such it publishes articles on exegetical, historical, systematic, and liturgical theology that promote the orthodox theology of the Evangelical Lutheran Church. We cling to God's divinely instituted marks of the church: the gospel, preached purely in all its articles, and the sacraments, administered according to Christ's institution. This name expresses what this journal wants to be. In Greek, ΛΟΓΙΑ functions either as an adjective meaning "eloquent," "learned," or "cultured," or as a plural noun meaning "divine revelations," "words," or "messages." The word is found in 1 Peter 4:11, Acts 7:38, and Romans 3:2. Its compound forms include ὁμολογία (confession), ἀπολογία (defense), and ἀναλογία (right relationship). Each of these concepts and all of them together express the purpose and method of this journal. Logia considers itself a *free conference in print* and is committed to providing an independent theological forum normed by the prophetic and apostolic Scriptures and the Lutheran Confessions. At the heart of our journal we want our readers to find a love for the sacred Scriptures as the very Word of God, not merely as rule and norm, but especially as Spirit, truth, and life which reveals Him who is the Way, the Truth, and the Life — Jesus Christ our Lord. Therefore, we confess the church, without apology and without rancor, only with a sincere and fervent love for the precious Bride of Christ, the holy Christian church, "the mother that begets and bears every Christian through the Word of God," as Martin Luther says in the Large Catechism (LC II, 42). We are animated by the conviction that the Evangelical Church of the Augsburg Confession represents the true expression of the church which we confess as one, holy, catholic, and apostolic.

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On the cover is a photograph taken during Divine Service in Tutume, Botswana; the name of the congregation is "Ndzimu Unaswi" in the regional language (Kalanga), meaning "God Is with Us," or in good English, "Immanuel." It is a congregation of the "Lutheran Church in Southern Africa." The pastor is Rev. Daniel Schmidt, who is a missionary of the SELK.

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FREQUENTLY USED ABBREVIATIONS

AC [CA]	Augsburg Confession
AE	*Luther's Works,* American Edition
Ap	Apology of the Augsburg Confession
Ep	Epitome of the Formula of Concord
FC	Formula of Concord
LC	Large Catechism
LW	*Lutheran Worship*
SA	Smalcald Articles
SBH	*Service Book and Hymnal*
SC	Small Catechism
SD	Solid Declaration of the Formula of Concord
SL	St. Louis Edition of Luther's Works
Tappert	*The Book of Concord: The Confessions of the Evangelical Lutheran Church.* Trans. and ed. Theodore G. Tappert
Triglotta	Concordia Triglotta
TLH	*The Lutheran Hymnal*
Tr	Treatise on the Power and Primacy of the Pope
WA	*Luthers Werke,* Weimarer Ausgabe [Weimar Edition]
Kolb-Wengert	Robert Kolb and Timothy J. Wengert, eds., *The Book of Concord: The Confessions of the Evangelical Lutheran Church* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2000).

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Lutheranism in Africa

"The Gospel is Our Only Hope"

To many Americans, the theme "Lutheranism in Africa" evokes the thought of missions. And there is certainly plenty of reading about missions in this issue. The history of Lutheran missions in Africa is both interesting and instructive. Some of the missionaries came from Europe, while others came from America. So there are varying perspectives for us to consider.

But to speak about the Lutheran Church in Africa is no longer to speak only about missions. Many Lutheran churches in Africa, which began as missions, are now well-established mature churches, some even sending out missionaries of their own. Other Lutheran churches in Africa have been founded and are growing, not as the result of work done by American or European missionaries, but by indigenous African pastors with a firm commitment to the Scriptures and to the Lutheran Confessions. As a result our Lutheran brothers and sisters in Africa have much to say to their fellow Lutherans around the world. That is why, in addition to articles written by Americans and Europeans, we asked some African authors to contribute to this issue of *Logia*. We believe you will benefit from what they have to say.

While no single author can represent an entire continent made up of so many countries, we have to start somewhere, and it does seem appropriate that American and European missionaries and African Lutherans should all be heard to provide a more complete understanding of how Lutheranism on the African continent came to be what it is today. It seems safe to predict that most readers of *Logia* will learn a great deal about African Lutheranism.

We began a new series with "Lutheranism in Asia" last year, and, Lord willing, this issue on "Lutheranism in Africa" will be followed by issues on "Lutheranism in Latin America" (planned for Epiphany 2009) and "Lutheranism in Europe" (planned for Epiphany 2010). It is fitting that these issues dealing with Lutheranism around the world appear during the Epiphany season. It is during this part of the liturgical year that the church focuses on the spread of the gospel among the Gentiles, that is, the nations of the earth. It is clear that the gospel is working mightily in Africa today.

Over the last few years I have had occasion to visit Africa a number of times for various reasons. During these visits I have talked with church leaders from many different African Lutheran churches; I have preached for an anniversary service in Sudan; I have spoken at a youth gathering in Ghana; I have participated in church fellowship discussions in Kenya. In every case I have met people who have an intense desire to be Lutherans. They are convinced of the truth of God's Word; they are confident that the Lutheran Confessions are a faithful exposition of that Word; and they are eager to bring the pure gospel to the people around them. One of the most encouraging aspects of all my experiences in Africa took place when I recently taught for a semester at Lutheran Theological Seminary in Pretoria, South Africa. As I taught, I also listened to the views of theological students from six different African countries. Frequently they would speak about the wars or the sicknesses or the various other troubles that were present in their homelands. When I asked them how they thought they would help their people in the midst of so many trials, they answered, without exception, "The gospel is our only hope." These students themselves are hungry for the truth of God's Word and are looking forward eagerly to ordination and to the time when they, as called ministers of Christ, will be gathering God's people around Word and sacrament.

When asked to speak about Lutheranism in Africa, I am often asked about the cultural differences between my land and African countries. I answer those questions in various ways. But I also note that the more I learn about how Lutheranism has taken root in Africa, the clearer it becomes that our Lutheran Church is truly a trans-cultural church. The gospel knows no boundaries, whether geographical or cultural, and Lutheran theology is therefore being embraced in Africa. If our Lord delays, the future of the Lutheran Church may well be a story that is told in Africa and in the southern hemisphere.

Daniel Preus
St. Louis, Missouri
Guest editor for Epiphany 2008

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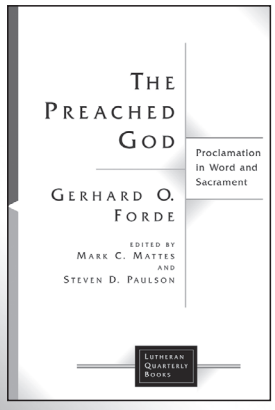

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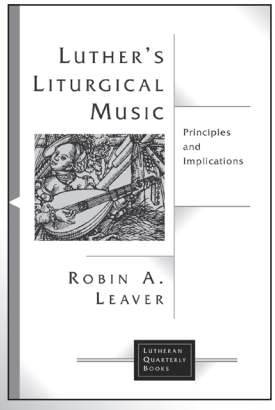

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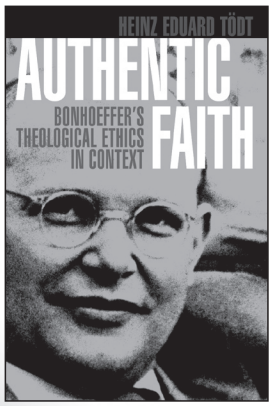

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How Many Lutherans?

William W. Schumacher

How many Lutherans are there in the world? According to statistics compiled by the Geneva-based Lutheran World Federation (LWF), the answer was 69,757,570 at the end of 2005. That grand total number includes the membership of the 138 LWF member churches, as well as non-LWF churches such as the Lutheran Church—Missouri Synod (LCMS). You can read the detailed report yourself at www.lutheranworld.org.

The question of how many Lutherans there are is certainly interesting, even if any attempt to answer it embroils us in hazards, doubts, and ambiguities. There are hazards because, in the minds of some, the very idea of counting seems theologically objectionable. These enemies of numerical measurement have some Bible passages on their side, of course. (The account of David's military census in 2 Samuel 24 may be taken as a cautionary tale about such numbering!) But even if we concede that counting the world's Lutherans is not inherently improper, doubts remain as to whether it is possible. It will always be difficult to know how accurate such statistics are, whether the count was conducted the same way everywhere, and what factors should be taken into consideration as we use the numbers.

We may also wonder who gets counted as a Lutheran. This is not a simple question, and it is not getting any simpler. We may prefer, and even assert, a strictly confessional definition by which those who do not pledge themselves unconditionally to the whole Book of Concord ought not to be counted as Lutheran. But such a definition is unlikely to be convincing to most of those who want to identify themselves as Lutheran, and it is not clear that we can exercise any sort of exclusive proprietary rights over the term. If we want to use—and perhaps even learn from—the statistics published by the LWF, we must bear in mind the definitions they use themselves. That is where the plot begins to thicken.

For many years, we have become accustomed to thinking of European Lutheranism as diminishing in influence and numbers. The state churches and *Volkskirchen* of the traditionally Lutheran lands of Germany and Scandinavia have lost members, church attendance is notoriously pathetic, and the old systems of state taxation in support of those churches are gradually being dismantled in many places. The pattern of decline in those Lutheran churches makes it all the more surprising that Europe showed a very significant *increase* in the number of Lutherans during the year 2004. More Lutherans were added in Europe than in any other region of the world! That year, European Lutheranism increased from just under 36 million to about 38.6 million, an increase of about 7.3 percent. What is even more impressive is that most of that increase occurred in the tiny country of the Netherlands. In the Netherlands alone, the LWF counted twice as many new Lutherans in 2004 as in the whole continent of Africa (more about Africa in a moment).

Of course, there has not been an explosion of evangelistic zeal among Dutch Lutherans. The statistical anomaly results from a merger of the tiny Evangelical Lutheran Church in the Kingdom of the Netherlands with that country's two largest Reformed bodies, each of which was vastly larger than the Lutheran group. The merged church, known as the Protestant Church in the Netherlands (PCN), is now a member of both the LWF and the World Alliance of Reformed Churches. *Voila!* Now we have more than two million new "Lutherans," at least the way they are being counted these days in Europe.

Elsewhere in the world, the statistics are perhaps less ambiguous. The Western Hemisphere does not fare well. North American Lutheranism has been declining by one or two percent per year, while Latin America is something of a mixed bag, with some gains and some losses, and little or no net change in membership over the last few years. Asian Lutheranism, still small in absolute numbers, is growing, with significant recent gains in Taiwan and Bangladesh. There are now about 7.4 million members of Lutheran churches in Asia.

The big story, however, is in Africa. The number of African Lutherans rose from just under 13 million in 2003 to over 14 million in 2004 and 15 million in 2006—apparently without adopting the European method of redefining millions of Reformed Christians as "members of LWF churches." There are today almost three times as many Lutherans in Africa as there are in North America. Please stop and read that sentence again, because it is important. There are today almost three times as many Lutherans in Africa as there are in North America.

Africa is rapidly becoming the center of world Lutheranism. The sheer numbers are part of the picture, of course. But the

William W. Schumacher formerly served as missionary to Botswana, Africa, and currently serves as Mission Associate Professor of Historical Theology and Dean of Theological Research and Publication at Concordia Seminary in St. Louis.

This is an updated version of an article that appeared in Concordia Journal, Volume 31, Number 2, April 2005.

rate of growth is also highly significant; European churches still have many more members than do their African sisters, but the African churches know a good deal more than the Europeans about the business of baptizing and catechizing new converts to the faith. If Lutheran churches sold stock, would you invest in European churches or African ones? Which sort of church do you suppose has a future over the next century or so?

What will it mean for us when the "center of gravity" of Lutheranism has moved to Africa?

Six out of the seventeen countries with more than half a million Lutherans are African countries (and three are in Asia). Of the twenty-two Lutheran churches which report more than half a million members, six are African churches (and three are in Asia). Three African Lutheran church bodies each have more members than the LCMS (in Ethiopia, Madagascar, and Tanzania).

Of course, Africa is not yet the financial center of global Lutheranism. The churches of Europe and North America, although lacking much of the vitality and dynamism of the African churches, still wield enormous economic power, and that power translates into influence in every aspect of the life of the worldwide Lutheran community. There is a tension between the size, growth, and vitality of non-Western (and especially African) churches on the one hand, and the disproportionate financial resources and influence (both theological and political) concentrated in the churches of Europe and North America on the other hand. That tension may become increasingly obvious and important for the relations among those in the world who identify themselves as Lutherans.

What will it mean for us when the "center of gravity" of Lutheranism has moved to Africa? Will that change the way we think about the world, and about our place in it? Perhaps it will convince us that the future of this precious way of confessing and proclaiming the gospel (what we call "Lutheranism") is very bright, indeed. It is growing and thriving under the bright African sun. LOGIA

Pluralist Theology and Africa Today

David Tswaedi

How churches and theologians in various regions of the world respond to pluralistic questions in teaching and practice affords Lutheran pastors and laity the opportunity to reflect anew how the Lutheran teaching — that is, the one based on Scriptures and the Confessions — measures up to the challenge of pluralism. Why do men and women who have studied the word of God reach conclusions known as the "theology of pluralism"? Is it true to say, as the popular South African phrase does, that "we are merely the rainbow people of God"? This will be explored through definitions of terms, the origin of pluralist theology, its essence, its purpose, and pluralism in Africa.

DEFINITION OF TERMS

"Pluralism" is defined by its Christian proponents as a hypothesis that intends no longer to search for ways and means of relating to other faiths and religions, but rather to recognize their legitimacy and right to exist side by side with the Christian religion. A renowned pluralist defines it thus:

> Pluralism refers to the substitution of many "ways" or saving figures leading to God-the-Center, in place of one, universal, constitutive mediation of Jesus Christ. The various religions, Christianity included, represent as many ways leading to God, all of which, differences notwithstanding, have the same validity and equal value.[1]

In other words, the discussion around pluralism has progressed to a point where there is no longer talk about "pluralism *de facto* rather pluralism *de jure*."[2] In this debate, the following terms are important to note: *exclusivism*: it is understood as a theological position of denying other religions the recognition of being a locus of God's revelation, as well as being a means of his salvation (Karl Barth); *inclusivism*: accepts as a point of departure the fact that Christianity is the sole absolute religion in a general and theoretical way through God's revelation and the saving grace that has been announced, but the import of this statement for a particular individual depends entirely on that person's actual historical circumstances.[3]

According to Karl Rahner, the father of inclusivism, we need to deal with the situations where there are no Old or New Testament revelations and respond accordingly. It is in this light that he became convinced that God is indeed revealing himself in other faiths, hence his *Anonymous Christ/ian theory*.

THE ORIGIN OF PLURALIST THEOLOGY

Pluralism is a component of the reaction of postmodernism against the Enlightenment. The shocking atrocities of the two world wars forced the proponents of Enlightenment modernism to reconsider the absoluteness of anything, particularly anything coming out of the Christian or Western traditions of thought. What precipitated this reaction was the fact that these wars were waged by people who claimed to be of the Christian faith. Many other shocking events happened after the Enlightenment, such as slavery, colonialism, apartheid, and the aggravation of tribal rivalry and hatred by individuals and nations that belonged to the Christian faith. It came as no surprise, therefore, that statements such as these are made from various parts of the globe:

> Like all religions today, Christianity is challenged to reassess its long-standing exclusivist claims and to contribute to building a new culture which includes and sustains plurality.[4]

From an African publication, we hear almost the same warning regarding the self-conception of the Christian faith in the context of world religions:

> The days are gone when Christianity assumed that it was the only faith through which God related to mankind and that other religions were to be regarded as enemies to be

David Tswaedi is the Bishop of the Lutheran Church in Southern Africa. This article was first delivered as an essay at the first annual West Africa Confessional Lutheran Free Conference held in Tema, Ghana, in August 2006. The conference was sponsored by the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Ghana and the Luther Academy.

1. Jacques Dupuis, *Toward a Christian Theology of Religious Pluralism* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 2005), 186.
2. Edward Schillebeeckx, *Church: The Human Story of God* (London: SCM Press, 1990), 170.
3. James L. Fredericks, *Faith among Faiths: Christian Theology and Non-Christian Religions* (New York: Paulist Press, 1999), 25.
4. Paul F. Knitter, *Introducing Theologies of Religions* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 2002), 44.

> fought or were forces of darkness and paganism. *Every Christian whether they like it or not must admit that there will always be people in this world who find their spiritual needs met outside of the Christian faith.* While dialogue should never be construed to be compromise, it means acknowledgement and respect for fellow human beings who do not as yet accept our understanding of how God relates to mankind through faith in Jesus Christ but chose to relate to God through some other religions.[5]

It is fitting to hear another voice from a region that has grappled with the issue of plurality, precisely because the greater percentage of the population of this globe is found in that area, and because almost more than 90 percent of them are outside the Christian faith. Bishop Angelo Fernandes from Delhi writes:

> A theology of world religions requires of us . . . full recognition of the fact that God has in the past dealt with diverse people in diverse ways, and that he continues to do so today. . . . To affirm that the religious practices of others, their sacred books and their sacramental practices, provide a channel through which the Risen Christ reaches out to them, in no way threatens the uniqueness of Christ and his message. Rather our theology will make clear that the uniqueness of Christianity lies in this: It excludes no religion; it embraces them all.[6]

Undoubtedly, there are salient reasons why pluralists began to posit the possibility of God's revealing himself to other people through means other than the biblical channel. First, *the apparent impregnability of some cultural groups* lends credence to a school of thought that surmised that the traditional way of evangelism does not work in other situations. But since God wants and desires that all people come to the knowledge of truth and be saved, will he not devise another way to reach the same goal if one model is not working? Second, *the resilience and ongoing appeal of some religious groups* seem to suggest that God is prepared to accept those people the way they are. Third, *there are common values that run through all the major religions*, including Judaism and Christianity, and these are evidenced in the lives of people who attempt to follow what is laid down by their religions. Dupuis elaborates further on this point in the following manner:

> The reasons for [pluralism's] persistence are many—one of which is the partial failure of the Christian mission, especially in the vast majority of Asian countries. In the other case, the same plurality is welcome as a positive factor which witnesses at once to the superabundant generosity with which God has manifested himself to humankind in manifold ways and to the pluriform response which in diverse cultures human being have given to the divine self-disclosure.[7]

There are very evil and wicked people in all religions. Why, therefore, could we not take all the *good* that is present in all of them and use that as the means of finding our way back to God in the manner spelled out by each individual religion?

Does the fact that Jesus did not align his teaching and message with his hearers indicate that he was not pastoral, creative, or innovative? No!

These are truly fundamental and legitimate questions that eat at the soul of any person who finds himself confronted with such real situations. However, if pluralism was truly the legitimate way of responding to "the partial failure of the Christian mission," does this option have any example from the Scriptures? How successful was our Lord and the apostles in bringing people to the saving faith with their preaching, which was accompanied by miraculous acts? What is clear is that, according to human standards, Jesus was not successful! But he did not tailor his message to the point that it would compromise its essence, its medium, or its purposes. Let's consider the following examples from Jesus' and Paul's ministry.

The gist of the teaching and preaching of Christ was the "kingdom of God" or the "kingdom of heaven." Yet his disciples, those about whom he said, "Blessed are you for your eyes see, and your ears hear" (Mt 13:16), did not understand this central concept of Christ's message before his resurrection and Pentecost (see Acts 1:6). The general populace on many occasions failed to see Christ for what he was. He fed them with physical bread, in order that he might lead them to *real* food and drink, but they did not understand this (Jn 6:6–65). Sadly, thousands left and only a few remained, because his teaching was unintelligible to them. Jesus tried through parables, personal interaction, and miracles to open the eyes, ears, and hearts of his hearers, but not many grasped the gospel.

Does the fact that Jesus did not align his teaching and message with his hearers indicate that he was not pastoral, creative, or innovative? No! The fact that he went into the house of Zaccheus, that he ate with sinners and the unwanted, that

5. Francesco Pierli, *Missionary, Ministry and Missiology in Africa Today*, Tangaza Occasional Papers, no. 1 (Nairobi, Kenya: Paulines Publications Africa, 1994), 40; emphasis added.
6. D. S. Amalorpavadass, ed., *Evangelisation of the Modern World* (Bangalore: National Biblical Catechetical and Liturgical Centre, 1975), 130–131; emphasis added.
7. Dupuis, *Toward a Christian Theology,* 386.

he spoke to the Samaritan woman at Jacob's well, and that he showed concern to the rich young man, are all indicative of his care and love for his hearers. The fact that he did not change the substance of his message did not make him unloving, arrogant, rigid, negative, insensitive, and so forth. In the case of the Samaritan woman, he was even explicit that all Samaritans needed to change their religion (Jn 4:22).

The experience of Paul and Barnabas with both the Jewish and Gentile hearers is indicative that the pluralist approach to theology is not philosophically or biblically sound. In Acts 13:16–41, they tried in many ways to show the Jews that Jesus was indeed the Old Testament Messiah. The Christian "gospel," as they defined and proclaimed it, was that the Messiah promises were fulfilled (Acts 13:32–33). When this gospel of promise-fulfillment was rejected, Paul and Barnabas pronounced the judgment found in Acts 13:46. When the Lystran people mistook them for the incarnation of their own deities, they were distressed and tore their clothes, and did not want the people to believe a lie (Acts 14:14–18).

When Paul met Peter in Antioch after the Jerusalem synod, the plight of the Gentiles was at stake. Even here there was absolutely no compromising or shuffling or juggling the doctrine of justifying faith in Christ. Were these messengers insensitive? Not at all! In classical Lutheran teaching, pluralism has to be seen as a failure of the proper distinction of the law and the gospel. Pluralism gives hope where hope has not been guaranteed, and pluralism pronounces judgment where the word of God does not.

THE ESSENCE OF PLURALIST THEOLOGY

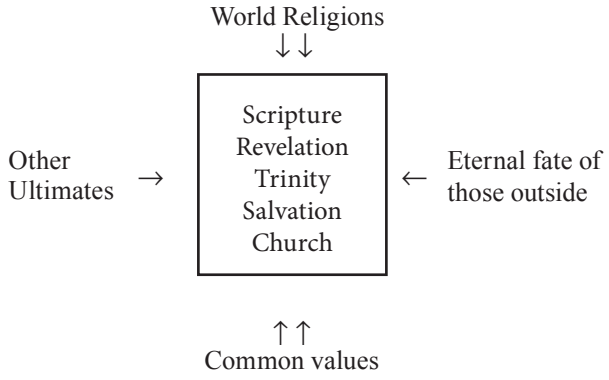
As much as one might try to lend an ear to the theology of pluralism, it does not take long to realize what a snare it is. Right at the beginning, it calls for a "Copernican revolution" in the church. It insists that the church of today needs to admit that it is just as mistaken in the matter of who God is, as the church at the time of Copernicus was wrong in placing the earth at the center of the universe instead of the sun. Hence it becomes clear that, on the one hand, pluralism uses the theology of religions as its primary hermeneutic. On the other hand, pluralism employs anthropology and natural philosophy as tools for developing its doctrines, instead of sound biblical methods of interpretation. It comes as no surprise, therefore, that even a well-researched book by the former Catholic missionary to India was not accepted by his church. The conclusions reached in his book were rejected by a notification attached to it by the "Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith" with these words:

> The Members of the Congregation recognized the author's attempt to remain within the limits of orthodoxy in his study of questions hitherto largely unexplored. At the same time, . . . they found that this book contained *notable ambiguities and difficulties on important doctrinal points which could lead the reader to erroneous and harmful opinions*. These points concern the interpretation of the *sole and universal salvific mediation of Christ, the unicity and completeness of Christ's revelation, the universal salvific action of the Holy Spirit, the orientation of all people to the Church, and the value and significance of the salvific function of other religions*.[8]

To understand the seriousness of this stream of thought further, consider this statement of another pluralist:

> There is a multiplicity of Ultimates. This possibility jolts most Western philosophers and Christians. But what jolts can push open the door to new insights. This view suggests that when we're with what is "ultimate" or "most basic" or "transcendent," we're better off using the *plural* rather than the singular. This last alternative would give even firmer support to the claims of the Acceptable Model.[9]

From these citations, it is clear that the methodology of religious pluralism is in many ways similar to the methodology of the so-called "theology from below" ("liberation theology"). Its premise is informed by the situation "outside the church." It then uses those "outside conditions" to direct how Scripture should be interpreted in the interfaith dialogue. As indicated above, pluralism cannot claim objectivity. Its decisions and conclusions are reached by theologizing from the "outside" first, then bringing those ideas into the center of Christian thinking, and there attempting to harmonize Christian doctrine with the conclusions made on the "outside." The following chart demonstrates the "outside" pressures on the church and its doctrines exerted by pluralist theology:



From the above it can be concluded that the theology of religious pluralism does not use Scripture as the basis of its positions. It is totally determined by values, ideas, and practices "outside" Scripture. One cannot expect it to follow even the basic rules of a Lutheran hermeneutic; rather it uses a hermeneutic of inclusivism and religious diversity. Pluralists ignore the classical Lutheran insistence of *sola scriptura*. After commenting on the two texts in Acts that clearly are on the "exclusivist" side (Acts 4:10–12 and 17:22–23), Fredericks can still reach this conclusion:

8. Ibid., 434–435; emphasis added.
9. Knitter, *Introducing Theologies*, 196.

> Inclusivist theologies are in agreement with the exclusivist theologies in claiming that all salvation is in the name of Jesus Christ. But these theologies also *argue* that God's saving grace is present universally and therefore no human being is untouched by the grace of God revealed by Jesus Christ. *Salvation outside the institutional borders of Christianity is a distinct possibility.*[10]

The above conclusion is reached with such unprecedented alacrity that one wonders how in one sentence the unique salvatory work of Christ is accepted and acknowledged, and then in the same paragraph the same can be denied without noticing any logical contradiction! Here the Apology warns us about religions invented by men under the topic of "Human Traditions in the Church":

> Finally, what assurance do we have that religious rites established by human beings without the command of God justify? . . . What if God does not approve these acts of worship? How, then, can the opponents maintain that they justify since it cannot be maintained apart from the Word and the testimony of God. Paul says (Rom 14:23), "Whatever does not proceed from faith is sin." But since these religious acts have no testimony from the Word of God, the conscience cannot help but doubt whether they please God. (Ap XV, 17)

We can therefore state beyond doubt that the attempts of pluralists to ignore the call of the word of God, to call all people to repentance and the promise of the forgiveness of sins through the merits of Christ, are empty promises that will not deliver people to salvation, since they have no grounds or substantiation in the word of God. The promises of pluralists are tantamount to saying that the father of all lies, Satan, will save people from the wrath to come!

The Lutheran Confessions further underscore the Scripture principle when we deal with matters of doctrine. In the Smalcald Articles, Luther asserted the following:

> It will not do to formulate articles of faith on the basis of the holy Fathers' works and words. Otherwise their foods, clothes, houses, etc., would also have to be articles of faith—as has been done with relics. This means that the Word of God—and no one else, not even an angel—should establish articles of faith. (SA II, II, 15)

Those who crafted the Formula of Concord also felt it necessary to make their position clear with regards to their understanding and usage of the books of Scripture. This is what they said:

> First we confess our adherence to the prophetic and apostolic writings of the Old and New Testaments, as to the pure, clear fountain of Israel, which alone is the one true guiding principle, according to which all teachers and teaching are to be judged and evaluated. Since the ancient times the true Christian teaching as it was correctly and soundly understood was summarized on the basis of God's Word in short articles or chief parts against the adulterations of heretics, we confess our adherence, secondly to the ecumenical creeds . . . as the glorious confession of faith—succinct, Christian, based upon God's Word, in which all heresies that had at that time arisen within the Christian churches were clearly and thoroughly refuted. (FC SD, Rule and Norm, 3–4)

While we continue to concur without reservations to the above, pluralists such as Claude Geffré would entertain the possibility of not only doubting the statements of faith and confession made, but would go further and say:

> Important as it is to safeguard the special significance of the word of God reported by the Jewish and Christian revelation, it is no less important to recognize the true value and meaning of the words of God contained in the sacred books of other religious traditions. . . . Having acknowledged in the Qur'an "an authentic word of God, although in part formally different from the word revealed in Jesus Christ," . . . a like acknowledgement leads us to a deeper theological appreciation of revelation as differentiated revelation. While the theology of non-Christian religions has not emerged from the stumbling, searching stage, we must try to think how a single revelation can include different words of God.[11]

We therefore can state that if we follow the lead of the pluralist theologians, who advocate for an open door for the consideration of other paths or models of salvation, then the Scriptures and the Lutheran Confessions will not be on our side. We will not be on the side of the dying heathen, but we "will be making them doubly children of hell." We will not be bringing them anywhere closer to the loving Savior, Jesus Christ, whom all humanity will, can, and must encounter where he can be found, that is, in his word.

Pluralist theologians are not holding back on their views; Fredericks states:

> For pluralist theologians, Christ is one way to salvation, but not the only one. Buddhism constitutes another religious path that leads to salvation. The same can be said of the religions of Muslims, and Sikhs and the followers of the other great traditions. . . . The pluralists claim that non-Christian religions are legitimate ways to salvation apart from the way of Christ. . . . Therefore as a general rule, plu-

10. Fredericks, *Faith Among Faiths*, 15.

11. Dupuis, *Toward a Christian Theology*, 251.

> ralistic theologies are willing to abandon the traditional Christian belief in Christ as the one and only savior.[12]

The Lutheran Confessions adamantly state that, in the church, only the voice of Christ carries weight and has authority. There is no way that we can claim to be Christian and not use the book that distinguishes Christianity from all other faith organizations. The Reformation movement was initiated and propagated precisely by those who were willing to sacrifice all for the sake of the authority of Scriptures. It is the conviction of the Lutheran Confessions that in the Scriptures, God has bound himself. What he has said there he cannot change, otherwise he will be a liar. Luther in the Large Catechism, when teaching about infant baptism, has this to say about the command of God:

> Thus we do the same with infant baptism. We bring the child with the intent and hope that it may believe, and pray God to grant it faith. But we do not baptize on this basis, but solely on the command of God. Why? Because we know that God does not lie. My neighbor and I—in short all people—may deceive and mislead, but God's Word cannot deceive. (LC, IV, 57)

In conclusion, we can say that the pluralist attempts to find a "lead in the sacred books for a positive approach to religions" or to "deal with other faiths creatively" or to "respond to them pastorally" is actually a Trojan horse, which is intended to topple Christ from his throne, which is nothing but his word. These are attempts to have Jesus rule his church *without* his word, but through the acknowledgement of other sacred books of faith. The prophet Samuel told King Saul that the deliberate transgression of the word of God is nothing else but "witchcraft" (1 Sm 15:22). We pastors and teachers of the Lutheran tradition will therefore teach, preach, and listen to nothing else but the saving word given to us by the prophets and apostles.

THE PURPOSE OF PLURALIST THEOLOGY

The position of pluralism regarding the Trinity is very revealing. The Christian God is placed on the same level as the "monotheists" of other world religions. In this view there is a total misunderstanding, or rejection, of the three persons of the Trinity. The Son and the Holy Spirit are not viewed as divine in the sense of substance and essence, but of "endowment." We referred earlier to the "Copernican revolution." This continues to gain momentum when we deal with the person of God. Dupuis sets the tone of the discussion with these words:

> Having believed for centuries that the sun revolves around the earth, we finally discovered, with Galileo and Copernicus, that the earth actually revolved around the sun. Likewise, having believed for centuries that other religious traditions revolve around Christianity as their center, today we must acknowledge that the center around which all religious traditions revolve (including Christianity) is actually God. Such a paradigm shift necessarily entails the abandonment of any claim to a unique meaning not only for Christianity but for Jesus Christ himself.[13]

From this statement the ground is laid for the discussion of what pluralism intends to teach about God. There is no doubt that the purpose is not to follow the tradition of the church, nor even the Scriptures, but in the light of the "Copernican revolution" to open the gates for "open discussion" about who God is. We Lutherans know that the quest to find the biblical God without the Bible is tantamount to beginning a journey on the wrong foot. God will not be found, because he will be looked for at the wrong places. Whatever will be found at the end of the path will be human creations. Karl Barth, who was caught up in the pluralist debate, was right when he said, "Religions, all religions without exception, are merely human creations. They offer only one example after another of our foolish, sinful attempts to justify ourselves apart from the grace of God."[14]

Pluralist theology intends, as its primary purpose, to demonstrate that the religions of the world—and their gods—are not contradictory but harmonious. In order to achieve this purpose, Dupuis writes:

> It needs, therefore, to be shown: (1) that the God of the three monotheistic religions is the same and only God, notwithstanding the vastly different apprehensions thereof in the various traditions; and (2) that the Ultimate Reality of the mystical Eastern traditions can, without violence being made to it, be interpreted, in a Trinitarian key, as potentially tending towards the unfolding of the Trinitarian God in Jesus Christ.[15]

Pluralism has no qualms in understanding the deity of the Muslim as the same as that of the Christian. Citing from Surah 29:46 which reads, "Our God and your God, is One," Dupuis concludes, "The context of the quotation clearly indicates that reference is being made to the 'people of the Book,' that is, to Israel and the Christian: 'We believe in what has been revealed to us and to you; our God and your God, is One, and we are submissive (*muslimum*) to him.'"[16] Pluralists further aver that the insistence on One God by Christians has no positive results, rather it is counter-productive:

> First, it places limits on what God may be doing in other religions, for it allows only that kind of truth and goodness in them that can be fulfilled in the church. Second, it ends up making the church more important than God, also

12. Fredericks, *Faith among Faiths*, 15.

13. Ibid., 51, 29, 27.
14. Fredericks, *Faith among Faiths*, 17.
15. Dupuis, *Toward a Christian Theology*, 259.
16. Ibid., 260.

> more important than Christ and his vision of the Reign of God. It is an obstacle to real dialogue because it doesn't allow for the level playing field that dialogue requires.[17]

The identity of the true God is totally lost in the midst of names such as the "Ultimate Reality," or in the congregations of the gods of the world religions. What is at stake here, logically speaking, is not merely the identity of God, but even more his authority, his law, and his saving grace through his Son. It is incumbent, therefore, for the church to reject what is not God, since the entire gospel will be lost with the loss of God's identity. What salvation can be found in other religions, if not salvation achieved by the works of the law, as Lutherans confess? It is therefore in accord with the teaching of the Lutheran Confessions to reject any tendency of anti-Trinitarianism. The Augsburg Confession states the position of the church thus:

> The churches among us teach with complete unanimity that the decree of the Council of Nicea concerning the unity of the divine essence and concerning the three persons is true and is to be believed without any doubt. That is to say, there is one divine essence which is called God and is God: eternal, incorporeal, indivisible, of immeasurable power, wisdom, and goodness, the creator and preserver of all things. . . . Yet, there are three persons, coeternal and of the same essence and power: the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit. . . . They condemn all heresies . . . of the Manichaeans, Valentinians, Arians, Eunomians, Mohammedans. (AC I, 1–3, 5)

The Augsburg Confession is quite deliberate in its choice of words, as it seeks to leave nothing to chance or misrepresentation. What pluralists attempt to do is not merely to divide the persons of the Trinity, rather even to stand in direct violation of what the Athanasian Creed repeatedly stated: that the three persons belong together, coeternal, coequal, indivisible, and so forth. According to the theology of religious pluralism, we are now at the point where we need to move away from "Christocentrism" to "Theocentrism," since the former is more divisive than the latter. They want to settle for a theory of God "forming followers of Christ wherever and whenever God wants. . . . Buddhists and Muslim friends are already on the Christian side."[18]

It may thus be logically concluded that if the expectation of pluralism is to substitute "God" for "Christ," then it will have to drop the use of the term "Christianity" and coin another one. The least the pluralists could do would be to refer to our religion as "Pater-nity" (as referring to the Father only), or alternatively as "Theo-nity" (as simply referring to any god). This may sound like a joke, but the layman will understand this discussion when you tell him he is not a "Christian" anymore. We need to observe that this dialogue is totally skewed, one-sided and one-directional in favor of other religions. The other religions are not expected to approximate the Christian teaching, rather the opposite is the case. Let us suppose, for the sake of argument, that these other religions had the teaching of the Trinity. Would Christianity then be expected to accept that and cast away its monotheistic position?

If the pluralist were completely honest, he would admit that his position is just another form of Unitarianism, because the ramifications of his position on the Trinity "defrocks" both the Son and the Holy Spirit of their divine nature. The Son and his incarnation is understood as God becoming human, just as God's power can become present or evident even in other faiths. The reality of the incarnation in one person then is seen as a matter of God's limiting himself, at least in one case:

> They [the questions about absoluteness] seem impossible if our so-called postmodern consciousness is correct—that all truth is limited because all truth is historically conditioned or socially constructed. Even contemporary theologians admit this about Jesus. If the Divine truly incarnates itself in the history of one particular human being, this means that the Divine *limits* itself. Incarnation means limitation. St. Paul called it "emptying" (*kenosis*).[19]

We should note that an unbiblical stance on the person of Christ will ultimately impact all the dogma of the church. Here is one example:

> The contention is that a person's faith in Jesus Christ implies that one has encountered God's self-gift and communication of the life in the human person of Jesus of Nazareth — not, however, that this historical person is the obligatory way for all human beings in whatever circumstances of place and time. In other words, to believe in Jesus Christ is to believe that I am saved through him, not that he is the Savior of the world. Jesus is the way for Christians, but other ways make him unnecessary for others.[20]

In response, we need to hear the words of the Formula of Concord:

> Thus, the entire Holy Trinity, God the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, directs all people to Christ as the Book of Life, in whom they should seek the Father's eternal election. For the Father has decided from eternity that those whom he wanted to save, he willed to save them through Christ, as Christ himself said, "No one comes to the Father except through me" (Jn 14:6). (FC SD XI, 66)

The position of pluralists on the Holy Spirit can be summarized in the words of both Vatican II and Pope John Paul II. *Lumen Gentium* affirms the following ideas: that whatever good or

17. Knitter, *Introducing Theologies*, 89–9018. Ibid., 73.
18. Ibid., 73.
19. Ibid., 104.
20. Dupuis, *Toward a Christian Theology*, 190.

truth is found among them, that is, the heathen, is considered by the church as the preparation of the gospel (*preparatio evangelica* is understood to be a "sort of secret presence of God"); that there is a seed of the word hidden in the heathen; that there is "a common grace which is supernatural"; that there is a universal economy of the Spirit of God; that the Spirit is visibly "active even outside the visible Body of the Church"; and that the heathen cannot produce the "fruits of the Spirit" without him. John Paul II used John 3:8, "the Spirit blows where he wills," as well as Romans 8:26 to show that the Spirit decides for himself, because he was active before Christ, that is, from the beginning of earthly history.

The pluralist Gavin D'Costa warns the Christian church that

> the Church stands under the judgment of the Holy Spirit, and if the Holy Spirit is active in the world religions, then the world religions are vital to Christian faithfulness. . . . Without listening to this testimony [of the Spirit in other religions], Christians cease to be faithful to their calling as Christians, in being inattentive to God."[21]

In response, we confess that the Holy Spirit's work according to the Third Article of the Creed is to call, gather, and enlighten people, with the aim of leading them to Christ and his congregation where they are kept, forgiven, and sanctified. If there is a spirit that does the opposite, then it will not be the Christian Holy Spirit. Christ said that when he (that is, the Spirit) comes he will take what is his (that is, Christ's) and give it to the disciples, and he (that is, the Spirit) will not act on his own (Jn 16:13–15). This means that the unity of the Trinity is not merely in the essence, it is also a unity of divine purpose.

THE AFRICAN SCENE AND PLURALISM TODAY

What is the potential for Christianity, or for pluralist theology, in Africa today? According to rough estimates, there are approximately 320 million Christians on the African continent, and of those there are approximately 14.4 million African Lutherans. Today Africa prides itself as the continent which is about to overtake any other continent as being the center of Christian population. It needs to be asked, though, whether the numbers are congruent with spiritual depth or a clear understanding of the core biblical teachings. In recent decades, the African continent has experienced a marked gravitation of people back to animism, or to syncretistic practices. This was either after the departure of missionary leadership, or as the result of break-away groups that felt that the Euro-American missionary leadership was denying them space for religious self-expression. The marked popularity of "African Initiated Churches," which have a slightly different stream of pluralism, is indicative of the fact that African Christianity really needs to be evaluated in the light of a clear biblical assessment, not just on the basis of numbers. For example, the "African Initiated Churches" have brought back ancestor worship and many rituals that are not Christian. These include rituals such as purification after death of the people, the house, or the fetching of the soul of a person who died in a car crash.

The least the pluralists could do would be to refer to our religion as "Paternity" (as referring to the Father only). This may sound like a joke, but the layman will understand this discussion when you tell him he is not a "Christian" anymore.

The African belief in God has not developed either deeper or further than the old concept of the Supreme One, as the creator and the provider. Africans coming from a culture of fear and insecurity were eager to accept a Christianity that clearly addressed these existential issues. For African Christians, therefore, a belief system that is clear on these matters is welcome. It comes as no surprise that the Catholic Church has had so many "converts" here as well as in Latin America.

Kwame Bediako has written a chapter titled "African Religion and the African World-view: Will the Ancestors Survive?" African pluralists have been quick to ask these questions: Why do mainline churches forbid the veneration of ancestors when the Bible itself mentions ancestors such as Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob? Should we rather refer to these persons as the "Old Testament saints"? Is Jesus himself not an ancestor, since he died too? Must we observe the veneration of "the European dead people, but not our own"?

We need to understand these ways of thinking. Ancestors are the pillar of African religiosity and identity. It is understood that their familial ties with the living make it possible to communicate with the Supreme Being. This is because they are conversant with the emotional make-up of their family members, and therefore are better placed to translate their requests into words that would effectively be understood by God. The problem with the teaching on ancestors is that one rarely hears of a wicked or evil ancestor, much less the Christian doctrine of sin. The assumption is that all who die become mediators, especially men, irrespective of their life-style or sinfulness this side of the grave. It is assumed that the decomposition of the body in the grave takes care of all the evil the person had.

African pluralism should be seen in the light of the animistic background of the majority of African Christians. This envi-

21. Gavin D'Costa, ed., *Christian Uniqueness Reconsidered: The Myth of a Pluralistic Theology of Religions* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1990), 22–23.

ronment is filled with the emotion of fear, therefore anything or any religion that can address the element of uncertainty is welcome. The entire life of an African person is marked with some ritual: from conception, to birth, the baby being introduced to the community, a child entering school, graduating, leaving home for employment, marriage, purchasing a house, vehicle, interviews, litigation, sickness, marriage, death, and finally mourning. The rituals performed at these stages are not performed by a pastor, but by a medicine person secretly.

This leads to the final question. Lutherans teach that "justification by faith alone" (AC IV) is the article on which the church stands and falls. I would argue that although Africans are more concerned about existential matters, they still need to claim that slogan. Could we on the African continent claim that the article of faith on which the church stands or falls here is that of the resurrection of Christ over death, sin, and evil? Africans are more worried about protection and power. How then can we help Africans understand that *only* Jesus can fulfill their existential needs, because of his exclusive power over death, sin, and evil?

CONCLUSION

There are two prophets from the Old Testament who can assist us as we confess Christ in the pluralistic society. First, we remember Micaiah ben-Imlah, who was always ready to transmit God's word as it was given to him, not in a tailor-made way, even in the face of imprisonment (1 Kings 22: 8). Second, we remember the prophet from Judah who did not listen to his Lord (1 Kings 13). May God keep us in his grace as we bear witness to his truth! LOGIA

Scandinavian Mission Societies and the Shaping of Lutheranism in Africa

Reijo Arkkila

It is frequently asserted that Luther and the early Lutherans neglected the important work of missions. This is only partially true. Already in 1559 the King of Sweden, Gustavus Vasa, made attempts to reach the Lappish, or Saami, people of Northern Scandinavia. In an open letter to them he spoke of the gospel and encouraged them to receive baptism. Yet the event usually identified as the first Protestant mission was the attempt of King Frederick IV of Denmark to evangelize India. In 1705 he sent two missionaries from Halle to Tranquebar, India. In 2006 the three-hundredth jubilee of the arrival of those missionaries was celebrated in southwestern India.

Another example of early Scandinavian attempts at missions is found in the Moravian movement (Herrnhutism), which was quite influential throughout Scandinavia in the eighteenth century. The Moravians sent missionaries to Scandinavian countries, and their efforts later inspired some missionaries to go overseas. For example, the first Finnish missionary was Mattias Nyberg, who left in 1756 to work in Surinam in South America. The Lutheran teachings present in the Moravian movement planted seeds that bore fruit in the form of Lutheran revivals, which paved the way for future Lutheran mission efforts.

THE RISE OF MISSION SOCIETIES

In late eighteenth-century Europe Christians began to form mission societies. The first of these were interdenominational but the Lutheran confessional awakening in Germany led to the establishment of specifically Lutheran mission societies. This became a trend in the Scandinavian countries as well. The Danish Missionary Society (DMS) was established in 1821. The Swedish Missionary Society began its work in 1835 and the Missionary Society of Lund in 1845. The Norwegian Missionary Society (NMS) was established in 1842 and the Finnish Missionary Society (FMS, later FELM) in 1859.

In the Scandinavian countries, mission societies originally worked from within the established churches but were administratively independent organizations. However, a remarkable change would occur in Sweden. In 1855 the Swedish Missionary Society absorbed the Missionary Society of Lund and in 1876 this society transferred its mission program to the Church of Sweden Mission (CSM). Since then the CSM itself executes world missions. In other Scandinavian countries missions have continued to be sponsored through independent church-related programs. In most cases the members of these societies are the most active members of local parishes.

Today the Scandinavian mission societies are not united theologically. Pietistic revivals and strong liberal tendencies coexist alongside firmly conservative theology. The Scandinavian mission societies are open to different theologies of missions because the folk churches in which they are working have been influenced by voices across the theological spectrum.

In all Scandinavian countries additional Lutheran mission societies have arisen whose roots were in Evangelical or Pietistic revivals. In 1856 in Sweden the Neoevangelical Movement (Rosenius Movement) established the Evangelical National Missionary Society (ELM). The Swedish Lutheran Mission (SLM), or Bible-true Friends, grew out of ELM and was established in 1911. This mission has been firmly conservative and grown more confessional in recent years. In Norway a low-church movement, the Norwegian Lutheran Mission (NLM), was started in 1891. The Evangelical Lutheran Mission Society of Denmark started its work in 1868 and the Danish United Sudan Mission in 1911.

The Lutheran Evangelical Association of Finland (LEAF) was established in 1873. LEAF represents the Evangelical Movement of Finland, which was inaugurated by Fredrik Gabriel Hedberg, whose theology was clearly confessional Lutheran. LEAF and its

SCANDINAVIAN LUTHERAN MISSION SOCIETIES

The following table contains abbreviations of the names of the mission societies referenced in this article:

CSM = Church of Sweden Mission
DMS = Danish Missionary Society
ELM = Evangelical Lutheran Mission (in Sweden EFS = *Evangeliska Fosterlandstiftellsen*)
FLM = Finnish Lutheran Mission (in Finland SEKL = *Kansanlähetys*)
FLOM = Finnish Lutheran Overseas Mission (in Finland *Kylväjä, Såninhsmännen*)
FELM = Finnish Evangelical Lutheran Mission (Formerly the Finnish Missionary Society, *Suomen Lähetysseura*)
LEAF = Lutheran Evangelical Association of Finland (*Suomessa Sley = Evankeliumiyhdistys*)
Messengers = Radio Mission Society (in Finland *Sanansaattajat*)
NLM = Norwegian Lutheran Mission (in Norway *Norsk Luthersk Missionssamband*)
NMS = Norwegian Missionary Society
SLEAF = Swedish Lutheran Evangelical Association of Finland (In Finland SLEAF = *Evangeliföreningen*)
SLM = Swedish Lutheran Mission (in Sweden: *Evangelisk Luthersk Mission—Bibeltrogna Vänner*)

Swedish sister organization SLEAF hold confessional Lutheran positions. Since the Second World War pietistic and evangelical revivals in Finland have led to the formation of the Finnish Lutheran Mission (FLM), the Finnish Lutheran Overseas Mission (FLOM), and the Messengers (Radio Mission Society).

MISSION FIELDS
In the Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries

The Norwegian Missionary Society began its work in Africa soon after its establishment. In 1844 the NMS went to South Africa, where its first center of work was Zululand. In 1866 the NMS entered its second mission field among the Malagasy in Madagascar, which is counted as a part of Africa in this paper, though it is not always considered so. Madagascar has been the primary Norwegian Lutheran mission field for over one hundred years. Even in 1980 NMS had about two hundred missionaries on the island. Because of the duration and extent of mission efforts there, Madagascar is considered by many Norwegians a close and dear country.

Evangelical National Missionary Society (ELM) missionaries from Sweden were pioneers of Lutheran mission work in Ethiopia. ELM began its efforts in 1865 by establishing the first independent Swedish Lutheran mission in Africa. The first missionary from the Church of Sweden Mission departed for South Africa in 1876. CSM established mission stations in Zululand, Natal, and Johannesburg. In 1903 CSM extended its efforts to Southern Rhodesia (modern Zimbabwe).

The Ethiopian . . . church, established in 1959, will soon be the second-largest Lutheran church in the world.

The Finnish Missionary Society (FMS, later FELM) started its work in Amboland (present-day northern Namibia) in 1870. Just as Madagascar is near and dear to many Norwegians, many Finns have a similar affinity for northern Namibia as a result of extensive missionary efforts there. The second field FMS entered was China, where work was begun in 1901.

NEW AND EXPANDED MISSION FIELDS
After the Second World War

Both world wars presented great difficulties for Lutheran missionaries in Africa. In many places German missionaries were evacuated, and after the wars could not return to their former locations. Scandinavian mission societies together with American Lutherans sought to help the "orphan missions." As part of these efforts the Church of Sweden Mission sent missionaries to Bukoba, Tanzania, during World War II. After the war CSM expanded efforts to other parts of Tanzania. The Danish Missionary Society has been working in Tanzania since World War II and the Finnish Missionary Society since 1952. FMS has worked in northeastern Tanzania, the southern highlands, and Dar es Salaam. The Finnish Lutheran Mission has worked in Senegal since the 1970s and Angola since the 1990s, though their first attempts in those places had been made already before World War II.

The Norwegian Lutheran Mission centered its efforts in China until 1949 but when that field was closed off to missions NLM began work in Africa. The Norwegian Missionary Society sent many missionaries to Ethiopia in the 1950s and 1960s. NMS has worked in Cameroon in western Africa since 1924. In 1962 NMS had fifty-three missionaries in Cameroon. NMS also has worked in Tanzania since 1952 and Kenya since 1976.

The Swedish Lutheran Mission has worked in Ethiopia since 1911. When Italy occupied Ethiopia SLM began to seek new fields, finding one in Kenya in 1939. World War II prevented work from beginning until 1948, when SLM sent missionaries to Kenya. Two organizations from Finland, LEAF and its sister organization SLEAF, have also worked in Kenya. SLEAF began in 1963 and LEAF in 1970.

FROM MISSION FIELDS
To Growing Lutheran Churches

In Africa Christian churches have grown rapidly since World War I and especially since World War II. Lutheran churches have followed this trend, especially in Ethiopia, Madagascar, and Tanzania. The Ethiopian Evangelical Church Mekane Yesus (EECMY) was established in 1959 and now has more than four million members. Soon it will be the second-largest Lutheran church in the world. The Evangelical Lutheran Church in Tanzania (ELCT) has more than three million members and the Malagasy Lutheran Church has about three million. In South Africa about one million Lutherans are found in various synods. In Namibia there are almost one million Lutherans in two growing church bodies. Namibia now is the African country with the highest percentage of Lutherans in proportion to its overall population.

The other African churches with which Scandinavian Lutherans have been working are considerably smaller than Ethiopia, Madagascar, Tanzania, and South Africa. In Cameroon there are about three hundred thousand Lutherans, and in Kenya and Zimbabwe more than one hundred thousand each. Other smaller African churches with which Scandinavian Lutheran mission societies are working or cooperating are in Malawi (ELM, LEAF), Senegal (FELM), Botswana (FELM), Angola (FELM), Zambia (LEAF), Congo (LEAF), Uganda, and Sudan. There are presently many open doors for additional mission work and invitations from Africans to expand efforts.

THE INFLUENCE OF LIBERALISM

It is difficult to give a brief characterization of the theology and practice of the African Lutheran churches. Spiritual revivalism has been exerting a strong influence in, for example, the churches in Ethiopia and Tanzania. Since these revivals are partly charismatic they create great tension within the churches. This is particularly true in the EECMY in Ethiopia, where

charismatic revivals have led to a division in the church in the capital of Addis Ababa.

There is a remarkable rise of confessional Lutheranism in Africa.

Historically African churches have been theologically weak for various reasons. One cause is that missionaries from liberal Scandinavian folk churches (*Volkskirchen*) have introduced the weak theology of their own churches to Africa. This has left the African churches vulnerable to the further introduction of novel theologies and practices. For example, the mission societies, with the active participation of the Lutheran World Federation (LWF) and through the influence of money, have had little trouble introducing the ordination of women to the larger African Lutheran churches. Perhaps the Church of Sweden Mission has been most active in bringing this novelty to Africa. The Secretary General of the LWF, Ishmael Noko of Zimbabwe, recently said that successful campaigning for the ordination of women has been the most important result of the work of the LWF—a very sad comment, indeed!

THE GROWTH OF CONFESSIONAL LUTHERANISM

Many African churches are filled with faithful Christians and are actively engaged in evangelism. Though liberalism has exerted a significant influence, the growth and vitality of African churches are good signs, especially when compared with the tired Scandinavian "mother churches." Even more encouraging is that confessional Lutheran teaching is spreading in Africa, and voices are speaking out against theological liberalism. For example, in the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Tanzania (ELCT) there are at least six dioceses opposing the ordination of women and trying to remain confessional. Bishops in these dioceses are under heavy pressure to relent but are seeking reinforcement for their position by actively building contacts with other confessional Lutherans. The ELCT also has sent many men to work in leading positions in the LWF. Best-known is Bishop Josiah Kibira, who was chosen in 1977 to be the president of the whole organization. He gained notoriety in Finland for openly accusing the Finnish people of being pretentious pagans at a 1981 meeting in Turku, Finland.

While most Scandinavian Lutheran mission societies have been open to streams of theological liberalism there are some positive exceptions among them. The Swedish Lutheran Mission, which is low-church, desires to be a confessional Lutheran mission. In Finland both LEAF and SLEAF are confessional Lutheran movements although both are experiencing heavy pressure from within their church to liberalize.

LEAF and SLEAF have together helped the Lutheran Church in Kenya (ELCK) grow more confessional. The theology of the Matongo seminary, which was established in 1978, has been confessionally sound. In the early 1990s the first contacts were made between the ELCK and the Lutheran Church—Missouri Synod (LCMS). Dr. Robert Preus played an important role in building these connections. In 2004 altar and pulpit fellowship between the ELCK and the LCMS was made official. The leading bishop of the ELCK, Walter Obare, has gained international publicity for his willingness to support the confessional movement in Sweden. On account of this he lost his leadership position in the LWF, but he received an honorary doctorate from Concordia Theological Seminary in Fort Wayne, Indiana, for his confessional integrity. The growing confessional Lutheranism within the ELCK is one of the good miracles in recent decades of African church history.

The first contact between Scandinavian mission societies and Lutherans in Sudan was made by LEAF missionaries in Kenya in 1994. The leader of a small Sudanese Lutheran group, Andrew Mbugo Elisa [*see an interview with Elisa elsewhere in this issue—ed.*], received a basic education in Lutheran doctrine and has gone on to study at Concordia Theological Seminary in Fort Wayne. Today there is a growing confessional Lutheran church in Sudan. LEAF theologians have been teaching at the small Concordia Seminary in Khartoum; the mission society is now building official contacts with the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Sudan.

LEAF also has connections with some of the smaller confessional Lutheran Churches in Africa, including those in Malawi, Zambia, Congo, and Uganda. The Evangelical Lutheran Church in Ethiopia has been planted by the Swedish Lutheran Mission. This church has not joined the EECMY and is building contacts with other confessional Lutherans.

The Lutheran Heritage Foundation (LHF) has been active in Africa since 1995. The President of LHF Africa is a former LEAF missionary, Dr. Anssi Simojoki. He has traveled extensively around Africa and has established contacts with many Lutheran groups. According to Dr. Simojoki, there is a great interest in confessional Lutheran literature and teaching in many African Lutheran churches.

It would not be an overstatement to say that there is a remarkable rise of confessional Lutheranism in Africa. I have personally had the privilege of teaching in many African Lutheran seminaries. Through this experience, I have seen open doors, good students, and the power of the word of God. Let us pray for God to bless the African continent with an increase of sound Lutheran teaching with a clear emphasis on the gospel of Jesus Christ. To God alone be the glory! LOGIA

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Free Men, Not Slaves!

The Church Government Crisis in the Hermannsburg Mission to South Africa

David R. Liefeld

Nineteenth-century Lutherans were in crisis as they struggled to define themselves amidst the onslaught of modernity on the heels of the Enlightenment.[1] Some sought accommodation, others repristination, while still others a nuanced restoration of traditions. Divisive battles over Lutheran teaching on church and ministry, including church government, reached global proportions.[2]

In Germany, it was a time of considerable social, political, cultural, and religious unrest. Liberation from Napoleon had produced a deep-seated urge for liberty and nationhood—a national liberal vision, John Breuilly notes, "of a modern secular society and state" that undermined "the outmoded powers of dynasty, aristocracy and religion."[3] That quest also produced a new kind of Pietism with a more aggressive political agenda: an alliance of church and state that seriously confused the motivations of both.[4]

The 1817 liturgical union of the Lutheran and Reformed churches in Prussia had reflected the liberal agenda. The German student movement that met at the Wartburg Castle on 18 October 1817 showed how "fashionable" it was at this time, Hajo Holborn writes, "to see in the Reformation a step toward the national freedom of contemporary Germany."[5] The later more formally organized "Prussian Union" reflected the neo-Pietist alliance. According to Robert Bigler, Frederick William iv romantically

> dreamed of a united Germany, a Christian commonwealth, a new embodiment of the Holy Roman Empire, whose center would once again be a unified "Christian-German Reich."[6]

The Prussian Union provoked a major crisis for confessional Lutherans, and a small group of them stubbornly refused to submit. Located first primarily in Silesia, their leader was Johann G. Scheibel, who in 1817 had written an exposition of Luther's psychological development (*About Luther's Piety*).[7] After intense persecutions that led to the emigration of Scheibel, Grabau, and others, the "old Lutherans" were granted in 1841 a general concession from the Prussian government. They formed the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Prussia, better known as the "Breslau Synod."

One important element of Breslau's ecclesiastical order was the office of *Vorsteher*, often translated "elder." The *Vorsteher* arose among the early opponents of the Union as a substitute for the prerogatives of the sovereign, and became what we today might call the congregational president or executive director. While the origin of the *Vorsteher* was admittedly Pietistic and Reformed, Breslau's implementation was intentionally confessional. The Breslau order also included a democratic agency composed of pastors and *Vorsteher*s, the High Church Council (*Ober-Kirchen-Collegium*), which exercised ecclesiastical supervision.[8]

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1. For a useful survey of the European issues, see Bengt Hägglund, *History of Theology*, trans. Gene J. Lund (St. Louis: Concordia, 1968), 353–388.
2. Walther shaped the Missouri Synod's congregational structure in opposition to Grabau and Löhe. Other American Lutherans, notably Haugean Norwegians, faced similar issues through their own experience of state-church persecution in their homelands.
3. John Breuilly, *The Formation of the First German Nation-State, 1800–1871* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1996), 110. See also Eva Kolinsky and Wilfried van der Will, "In Search of German Culture: An Introduction," in *The Cambridge Companion to Modern German Culture*, ed. Eva Kolinsky and Wilfried van der Will (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 4.
4. It was an alliance that helped defuse the revolution of 1848, as Robert Bigler concluded: "Under the leadership of the Hengstenberg faction and the 'small but mighty' clique of Junker Pietists, the conservative elements of the clergy engaged in a massive campaign to convince the population that the political upheaval was not only against the God-given order but also against God and religion" (Bigler, *Politics of German Protestantism: The Rise of the Protestant Church Elite in Prussia, 1815–1848* [Berkeley: University of California Press, 1972], 262).
5. Hajo Holborn, *A History of Modern Germany, 1648–1840* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1982), 464.
6. Bigler, *Politics*, 149.
7. See Georg Frobäß, "Scheibel, Johann Gottfried," in *Realencyklopädie für protestantische Theologie und Kirche*, ed. D. Albert Hauck, 3. Aufl. (Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs, 1896–1913), 17:547–551. See also [Heinrich] Guerike and [Johann] Scheibel, *Theologische Bedenken, betreffend reformirten und lutherischen Lehrbegriff, Kirchenverfassung und Union: in Bezug auf Aufsätze in der Evangel. Kirchenzeitung* (Frankfurt am Main: Siegmund Schmerber, 1834). Scheibel first went into exile in Saxony, where he was briefly in contact with Stephan, and then to New York with the Grabau emigrants.
8. The Breslau Synod admitted, according to its 1844 report, that "the Lord gave it [the *Vorsteheramt*] only to the time of the persecution of the church and three years ago it was intertwined with the congregation already to such an extent that the previous synod would have split the church if it had abolished it" (*Zusammenstellung der Beschlüsse der im September und Oktober 1844 gehaltenen Generalsynode der evangelisch-lutherischen Kirche in Preußen* [Leipzig: Reinhold Beyer, 1844], 132). For the relevant constitutional provisions of the Breslau Synod regarding the office of *Vorsteher*, see *Beschlüsse der von der evangelisch-lutherischen Kirche in Preußen im September und October 1841 zu Breslau gehaltenen Generalsynode* (Leipzig: Reinhold Beyer, 1842), 53–70.

The longtime director of Breslau's High Church Council was Eduard Huschke, a professor of Roman law, who developed a logically rigorous theory of church government from both New Testament terminology and Lutheran sacramental theology. He wrote,

> The necessary prerequisite of this doctrine, is the Lutheran church concept, that is, that the church would not be merely a faith fellowship, but also the body of Christ through (out of) congregations, offices, and rules.[9]

Huschke skillfully crafted an ecclesiastical constitution that blended the democratic procedures of a free church with the spiritual obligation of obedience to a higher authority.

As nineteenth-century German Lutherans generally debated the pastoral office and church government, serious disagreements divided the Breslau Lutherans. In particular, Pastor Diedrich and his associates objected to a mandatory congregational prayer, introduced in 1858 according to the synodical decision of 1856, which contained a petition for the High Church College as the ecclesiastical authority for the church.

As Wangemann described it in 1862,

> in this ordinance the protesters saw an open acknowledgment of the "false doctrine" that the ecclesiastical authority had claimed for itself an especially prominent position and to be sure clothed with divine authority.[10]

These protesters created the Immanuel Synod in 1863. Huschke agreed that the stated cause of their separation was simple; but the alternative, he repeatedly asserted, was an unbiblical demonstration of arbitrary subjectivity and an independent spirit: "*Independentismus, Pastorenherrschaft, subjectiv Willkür.*"[11]

The dissenters, on the other hand, claimed Huschke's "divine right" model of church government "is a sibling of chiliasm."[12] Weber stated that the visible body of Christ organized through various offices was, for Huschke, "actually through God's wonderful leadership the sanctuary for the persecutions of the last times, that woman dressed with the sun of which Revelation [13] is written."[14] Scheibel also had been convinced that the Prussian Union pointed

> to that charming devil's union of the last days clearly proclaimed in the word of the divine revelation, whose head and driver should be the personal Antichrist, the universal monarch of church and state for all those who bear the sign of the beast and adore his image.[15]

Hengstenberg thought Scheibel's teaching substituted "an ideal that never existed and never during the present course of the world would exist," making of "Lutheranism a thousand-year kingdom." He called this Lutheran church a "fantasy."[16]

These disputes did not remain confined to Germany but also affected mission fields, including the Hermannsburg Mission to South Africa. There, as in most places, the issues were not solely theological. By 1860, the Hermannsburg work in Africa had become seriously conflicted. "It was the first hard tropical storm that grabbed the young tree and shook it with its not yet deeply enough driven roots," wrote Winfried Wickert.[17]

The precipitator of that crisis was the appointment by Harms in 1859 of a mission field superintendent, Dr. August Hardeland. Although many historical accounts treat the difficulties associated with this appointment as momentary and localized, careful reconsideration suggests that they reflect the broader debates.[18]

THE HERMANNSBURG MISSION INSTITUTE

The *Evangelisch-Lutherische Missionsanstalt zu Hermannsburg* (Evangelical Lutheran Mission Institute at Hermannsburg), wrote Georg Haccius in 1907, is "like no other, a personal work, the creation of Pastor Louis Harms."[19] Ludwig "Louis" Harms was a parish pastor in a little village of the Lüneburg heath,

9. E. Huschke, *Die streitigen Lehren von der Kirche, dem Kirchenamt, dem Kirchenregiment und den Kirchenordnungen* (Leipzig: Dörffling und Franke, 1863), 199. German translations herein are the author's unless otherwise indicated.
10. Regarding the discussion of church and office, see Holsten Fagerberg, *Bekenntnis, Kirche und Amt in der deutschen konfessionellen Theologie des 19. Jahrhunderts* (Uppsala: Almquist & Wiksells, 1952). Regarding the midcentury issues of Lutheran church government in Prussia, see Julius Nagel, *Die evangelische-lutherische Kirche in Preußen und der Staat* (Stuttgart: S. G. Liesching, 1869).
11. Wangemann, *Der Kirchenstreit unter den von der Landeskirche sich getrennt haltenden Lutheranern in Preußen* (Berlin: Wilhelm Schultze, 1862), 46. Wangemann began his story: "So the fratricidal battle, in which the Lutherans separated from the Land church in Prussia grind themselves up, is sad . . . "
12. Arthur Weber, *Die evangelisch-lutherische Immanuelsynode in ihrer geschichtlichen Enstehung und in ihrer Berechtigung nach Schrift und Bekenntnis* (Breslau: Carl Dülfer, 1890), 20. Weber admits that Huschke was only explicit about his millennialism just before his death in 1886, but asserts that "the basic ideas of this chiliastic enthusiasm lay in him as in quite many laity already in the time of persecution."
13. Weber, *Die Immanuelsynode*, 24.
14. Ibid., 23–24.
15. Guerike and Scheibel, *Theologische Bedenken*, 26. Most troubling to Scheibel was the widespread acceptance of this "devil's union": "and it is—amazingly enough—formally recognized and legitimated by all Protestant consistories and authorities of entire countries, and moreover firmly done in alliance with the worldly power."
16. Ibid., 39.
17. Winfried Wickert, *Und die Vögel des Himmels wohnen unter seinen Zweigen: Hundert Jahre Bauernmission in Südafrika* (Hermannsburg: Missionshandlung, 1949), 37.
18. Henry Jacob Schuh's assessment is typical: "Some of the missionaries at first did not take kindly to this supervision but afterwards saw their mistake and Hardeland exerted a blessed influence until failing health compelled him to resign" (*The Life of Louis Harms: The Founder of the Lutheran Mission Society at Hermannsburg, Germany* [Columbus, OH: Book Concern, 1926], 98). This positive evaluation reflects Harms's own optimistic assessment, based upon letters from Hardeland and his supporters in Africa.
19. Georg Haccius, *Hannoversche Missionsgeschichte* (Hermannsburg: Missionshandlung, 1905–1909), 2:1. "The mission administration was only one man, Louis Harms," wrote Hartwig F. Harms; "he was director, secretary and treasurer in one person" (*Concerned for the Unreached: Life and Work of Louis Harms, Founder of the Hermannsburg Mission* [Hermannsburg: Missionhandlung, 1999], 56).

yet this diligent pastor and his congregational mission house exercised an influence that belied their humble origins. "Small, mustard-seed like, began the work of the Hermannsburg Mission," wrote J. Dexter Taylor, "which to-day spreads its branches to all parts of the world."[20]

The initial target of this mission was the Gallas of eastern Africa, but strong and persistent opposition in that location forced the first missionaries to begin work in Natal in 1853. The outreach soon expanded to include Zululand, Bechuana, India, Australia, and North America. Many Hermannsburg missionaries came to the Missouri and Wisconsin Synods, as well as to other American assignments, before the American predestination controversy of the 1880s.

Like many young men of the early nineteenth century, Louis Harms was a convert from Enlightenment rationalism.[21] The nineteenth-century Awakening in which he participated was grounded in an earlier Pietism that emphasized a personal experience of grace and the sanctified life. Harms became so zealous (according to his brother, Theodore) that their parents "feared he was on the way to be an enthusiast." Their mother was easily reassured but their father "admonished him to moderation, and not without need," claimed Theodore, "for so profound were my brother's convictions, so ardent his love for the Saviour, and so little had come his way to bend his strong will."[22]

This "strong will" would sustain Harms during the difficult trials of mission work, but also contribute to his difficulties. Haccius claimed Harms was a "man chiseled from granite. . . . In the battles of life, he was hard and severe"; although this was tempered by his spirituality, as Harms once wrote:

> In my youth, I considered it a shame for a man to cry; one might whip, martyr, and tear me into pieces but nothing would have moved my tough spirit to spill a tear. But when I became a man and heard and understood: God himself has died for my sins; there for the first time I cried bitter tears.[23]

Harms was a revivalist. His teaching extended beyond the Sunday morning service where everyone agreed that he was a dynamic, although not particularly eloquent, preacher, who became quite popular in Germany and drew people from all over.[24] "Those listeners (especially believers with Pietist background) who were left unsatisfied by the preaching of their own rationalistic pastors, flocked together to hear Harms."[25] One source of opposition in the community, however, was the tavern owners who "complained that he was ruining their business, and, no doubt, this complaint was well founded."[26]

Louis Harms's journey from Pietistic thinking toward fuller subscription to the Lutheran Confessions took time. From the beginning, however, he championed the Lutheran understanding of word and sacrament ministry. Notably, Schuh pointed out, "Holy Communion was celebrated every Sunday and the number partaking during the year was 360 percent of the number of souls."[27] For Arno Pagel, the longer Harms practiced his confessional commitment to "the Lutheran Church, its order, its liturgy, its hymns, its preaching, and its administration of the sacraments" the greater he adhered to it.

Therefore, according to Pagel,

> he did not also adhere to his initial opinion that the difference between the Protestant Confessions, the Lutheran and the Reformed, would be so unessential in basis that one should keep it out of the heathen mission entirely.[28]

Harms never abandoned his Pietistic fervor, but melded it with Lutheran Orthodoxy:

> The lamp is of no use without the oil, but becomes dead orthodoxy; the oil is of no use without the lamp, but becomes a shadowy spirituality. Both together and with each other: that is the correct Lutheranism."[29]

When at first Harms was closely associated with Pietists he helped to found the North German Mission Society at Lauenburg in 1834, a joint effort of Lutherans and Reformed. As he and other "awakened" Lutherans became more confessional, they abandoned these joint efforts and Harms was encouraged to begin a Lutheran mission agency. This he did as soon as he assumed the pastorate of his home congregation at Hermannsburg on 12 October 1849, after serving his father as assistant pastor there for several years.

The Hermannsburg Mission Institute was designed as a four-year course of study for literate but not academically trained young men, because Harms thought it would be too difficult to find university students who were willing to serve in a foreign land.[30] His endeavor was, therefore, quite deliberately a

20. J. Dexter Taylor, *Christianity and the Natives of South Africa: A Year-Book of South African Missions* (General Missionary Conference of South Africa, 1928), 285.
21. Hartwig Harms claimed that "no Christian friend led him [Louis Harms] to this experience"; rather, "it was a conversion coming out of the meditation on a Bible verse" (*Concerned*, 12).
22. Theodor Harms, *Life Work of Pastor Louis Harms* (Philadelphia: Lutheran Publication Society, 1900), 40. See also Schuh, *Life of Harms*, 39.
23. Haccius, *Missionsgeschichte*, 2:137.
24. See Haccius, *Missionsgeschichte*, 2:84.
25. H. Harms, *Concerned*, 18.
26. Schuh, *Life of Harms*, 47.
27. Ibid., 46.
28. Arno Pagel, *Ludwig Harms: Gottes Rufer in der Heide* (Erlangen: Verlag der Evangelisch-Lutherische Mission, 1978), 45.
29. Cited in Haccius, *Missionsgeschichte*, 2:30.
30. Schuh summarized this problem: "If he [Harms] determined on the former course [creating missionaries of 'scientific training'] he would have to confine himself to candidates of theology, men with a university training, and these would be hard to get. There were enough candidates of theology waiting for appointments as pastors but, knowing the hardships of such services, very few would be willing to serve as missionaries in foreign lands among uncultivated people. Learning and piety do not always go hand in hand" Schuh, 63. Part of the problem was that other Lutheran mission institutes, such as Leipzig, favored "theologians from the better and best classes" (W. Wendebourg, *Louis Harms als Missionsmann: Missionsgedanken und Missionstaten des Begründers der Hermannsburger Mission* (Hermannsburg: Missionshandlung, 1910), 402.

"farmer mission," a label of derision that Harms later adopted with pride.

Candidates had to be between twnety-two and twenty-five years of age, not subject to military service, and having parental consent.[31] The curriculum was theoretical and practical, with classes in Bible, Dogmatics, Church History, Preaching, Catechesis and Missions, English, and Music as well as a period from 1–3 o'clock in the afternoon for gardening and various trades. Haccius, a later director of the Mission Institute, highly valued this combination of theological and practical training:

> So the Mission House was preserved from a secluded Institute life and the pupils were preserved from the dangers of a one-sided institute education. They learned not only from books but also from life.[32]

Harms considered this endeavor akin to an Old Testament school of the prophets.[33]

For the first eight years the instructor was Theodore Harms, the younger brother who later succeeded Louis as director. While Louis Harms did not directly teach theology, his imprint on the students was enormous and was achieved through regular exposure to his congregational preaching and teaching. They also got experience with counseling by assisting Harms in parish visitation.[34]

Educating pupils was one thing, but having them certified by the Land church was quite another. The Hanover Consistory refused to take responsibility for Hermannsburg in 1850, noting that "it must be regarded solely as a private enterprise."[35] In 1853, the Hanover Consistory again refused to test and ordain the graduates because they lacked a university education, knowledge of the biblical languages, and a thorough academic-theological program. The consistory considered it a dangerous "slippery slope" for inferior graduates to be ordained solely as missionaries, since ordination once given could not be reversed if those graduates returned to the homeland.[36]

Harms strongly desired to operate within traditional Lutheran ecclesiastical practice and refused to accept irregular ordinations.[37] He therefore turned to the Osnabruck and Stade Consistories; when Osnabruck agreed, Stade did so also. The authorities at Stade considered the ordinations "an exception to the rule" that was justified "according to the demands of the purposes for which alone it would be given."[38] The testing of eight students at Stade resulted in permission for six to be ordained and two to be catechists. With the second group of graduates in 1857, and thereafter, the consistory at Hanover conducted the testing and ordinations.

They learned not only from books but also from life.

Although the graduates were not university trained, their performance at the consistory examinations earned respect for the Hermannsburg Institute. When the third group of graduates was examined in 1861, one of their examiners was Dr. Ehrenfeuchter (a professor of theology at the Land church university), who, according to Haccius, "was the first among the German professors who in a scholarly way advocated and lauded the mission."[39] Louis Harms was so aware of the impression his graduates were making in 1861 that he "was in all these days constantly in prayer that the faithful Lord might protect the dear young people from pride."[40]

THE SOUTH AFRICAN MISSION

Kenneth LaTourette described the period between 1815 and 1914 as "the Protestant century."[41] This nineteenth-century expansion of Christendom melded a diverse mixture of motives, most of which were not spiritual.[42] Although propagation of the faith was not central to nineteenth-century European imperialism, the reawakening of Reformation spirituality was nevertheless an impetus to accompanying the economic and political expansion with a Christian witness.

The Hermannsburg mission to South Africa began with grand dreams and vast ambitions. "Each new missionary society to arrive in Natal," noted Norman Etherington, "imagined that great and novel things would be accomplished."[43] Harms and his students had confidently adopted Constantine's slogan, "In this sign conquer," and it became a part of the official emblem.[44]

At first, Harms confidently expected the Lord to return soon following world evangelization, a sign of the chiliastic tendencies among many awakening Lutherans in those days.[45] Harms

31. See Haccius, *Missionsgeschichte*, 2:41. Harms also insisted that prospective students had to stay with a Christian family in Hermannsburg one or two years before admission.
32. Haccius, *Missionsgeschichte*, 2:47.
33. Wendebourg, *Harms*, 54.
34. H. Harms, *Concerned*, 27.
35. Haccius, *Missionsgeschichte*, 2:104.
36. Ibid., 2:113.
37. Harms did not consider his Mission Institute a "private hobby of individual awakened souls, but rather a divine work that the church of the Lord pursues out of obedience to the Lord's command and out of compassion for the heathen" (Wendebourg, *Harms*, 81).
38. Haccius, *Missionsgeschichte*, 2:114.
39. Ibid., 2:128.
40. *Hermannsburger Missionsblatt* (December 1861): 183.
41. Kenneth Scott LaTourette, *Christianity in a Revolutionary Age: A History of Christianity in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1969), 2:2.
42. "The leading motive was economic," LaTourette argued, but political motives were "closely associated" (*Christianity*, 3:380–381).
43. Norman Etherington, *Preachers, Peasants, and Politics in Southeast Africa, 1835-1880: African Christian Communities in Natal, Pondoland, and Zululand* (London: Royal Historical Society, 1978), 24.
44. Haccius, *Missionsgeschichte*, 2:36.
45. Harms believed "the more alive the faith, the greater the longing for the

called his missionaries "John-people," since "their calling is to prepare the way of the Lord." He hoped heathen countries would be a safe haven for persecuted old-world Christians during the period of tribulation.[46]

Harms also conceived his endeavor as a civilizing culture.[47] He acknowledged this was "somewhat similar to how the Anglo-Saxon missionaries in Germany did it, who were at the same time the spiritual and bodily teachers of our ancestors."[48] Harms hoped that "within a short time an entire country would have a network of mission stations and converted peoples, and be armed with Christian culture (*Bildung*) and customs." He truly believed the Africans he reached would be able in this way to "hold back with success the ruinous European influence and not become victims of the Europeans, which previously has been the case almost everywhere."[49]

Harms always thought that the Gallas would be ideal candidates for evangelization, based in part upon reports of the missionary Johann Ludwig Krapf, who enthusiastically proclaimed about them:

> Their conversion would produce an unpredictably powerful influence in East Africa. I am firmly convinced that divine guidance placed the peoples of this nation just here for a great purpose. It is the Germany of Africa."[50]

The notion that these African people could be viewed as medieval Germans made "a deep impression on Louis Harms" and "the thought of a Galla mission ignited a fire in his soul."[51]

Harms envisioned his mission as a sacrificial undertaking that would proceed best in the hands of unmarried missionaries who could share everything in common with the colonists. This communal sharing was called "communism" and meant that, "except for their very personal effects, things were held in common as property of the Mission. The income from fields, cattle and crafts was to be shared equally."[52]

Although it clearly became problematic, Harms defended this communism to the end of his life since, he wrote to Superintendent Hohls in 1864, his fundamental concern was spiritual: "I fear that in the battles against the communism . . . there is a pleasant comfortable existence, independence from the others and other desires of men."[53] This heartfelt conviction contributed to the church government crisis since, as Pagel observed: "It came to all sorts of tensions and difficulties."[54]

In Africa, as Etherington realized, "the vital elements of Harms's scheme dropped away one by one."[55] Wangemann concurs:

> Not a single thing is realized from the beautiful ideas of the first Harms plan. Outlook for the conversion of the entire Zulu people is not present: the hope for an Anglo-Saxon colonization pattern died a long time ago; the civilization of the Kaffirs through trade proved to be impossible.[56]

The hope of civilizing Africa therefore dissolved into European settlement. "Conversion to imperialism," Etherington asserted, "was accompanied by a steady weakening of faith in African potential."[57]

Lord and the fulfillment of his kingdom, and the greater the zeal and the sacrifice for the mission with which to make way for the coming of the Lord" (cited in Wendebourg, *Harms*, 43).

46. Wendebourg, *Harms*, 43–44. Norman Etherington wrote that "Harms preached unorthodox and speculative sermons on the millennium." Etherington described them as "romantic, chiliastic prophecies" ("Kingdoms of This World and the Next: Christian Beginnings among Zulu and Swazi," in *Christianity in South Africa: A Political, Social, and Cultural History*, ed. Richard Elphick and Rodney Davenport [Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997], 179).
47. As Haccius observed: "The chief task of the missionaries was to him, as he emphasized again and again, the preaching of the gospel and the administration of the sacraments. But he did not see in that their only activity. Out of the church the school should arise and domestic life like congregational life should be conformed to Christianity. Therefore the mission should also bring to [the heathen] Christian *Kultur* with the gospel" (*Missionsgeschichte*, 2:222). In his biography, Schuh put a triumphalistic spin on this: "With the Gospel was to go Christian civilization. The heathen were to be instructed not only in the saving truths of God's Word but weaned away from savagery to the arts of civilization, which have always followed in the wake of the Gospel" (*Life of Harms*, 73).
48. Cited in Haccius, *Missionsgeschichte*, 2:222. Louis Harms was fascinated by the medieval evangelization of Germany and it shaped his model. See also H. Harms, *Concerned*, 24.
49. Haccius, *Missionsgeschichte*, 2:223.
50. Cited by Haccius, *Missionsgeschichte*, 2:249. Krapf concluded regarding the Oromo people or Galla, "If they are won, all of central Africa is won!" (H. Harms, *Concerned*, 34).
51. Haccius, *Missionsgeschichte*, 2:250–251. The notion of a "virgin" mission field was fundamental to the Hermannsburg plan for converting whole peoples and not merely individuals, although this crucial presupposition of the original plan was never realized. The hope of converting whole peoples was not unique to Harms, however, as Etherington notes regarding the American mission work ("Kingdoms," 91).
52. H. Harms, *Concerned*, 36.
53. Haccius, *Missionsgeschichte*, 2:230. See F. Speckmann, *Die Hermannsburger Mission in Afrika: Für die Freunde derselben* (Hermannsburg: Missionshausdruckerei, 1876), 210–212. Etherington noted, "Prospects of trade, too, appear to have attracted many people to mission stations who otherwise would have stayed away" (*Preachers*, 79). Etherington also claimed, "It was no accident that the largest congregations grew up at the stations which had the best land" (*Preachers*, 91). Haccius saw the problem: "In Africa, the danger was very great that the missionaries would be drawn into commerce through barter and through that would be lured from their own calling. The first Bechuana missionaries succumbed to this temptation and Louis Harms looked into the future with great concern" (*Missionsgeschichte*, 2:233).
54. Pagel, *Harms*, 64.
55. Etherington, *Preachers*, 37.
56. [Hermann] Wangemann, *Die Evangelische Missionsarbeit in Südafrica: Eine Übersicht über die Arbeiten sämmtlicher evangelische Missionsgesellschaften in Südafrica* (Berlin: Ev. Missionshaus, 1872), 225. African converts were extremely hard to acquire and what Etherington had to say about the Nguni could be applied quite generally in most of South Africa: "If a missionary managed to win any converts from the tribes in the immediate vicinity of his station, he generally acquired the unstable, the rebellious, or the rejected" (*Preachers*, 67). Part of the problem was simply that "men and women who consented to baptism ceased for all practical purposes to be Zulus" (*Preachers*, 80).
57. *Preachers*, 28. Etherington observed, "Missionaries from Hermannsburg, Germany, . . . made a similar transition from anti-imperialism to open support for British expansion" (*Preachers*, 36). Etherington also attributed the later policy of racial segregation to Hardeland: "There was no point, Hardeland thought, in giving African station residents the sermons which were preached to Germans. He therefore composed a set of simple scripture lessons which were to be preached in succession to African catechumens. The introduction of the lessons drew a *de facto* colour line which became a

Numerous other difficulties, not foreseen in the early heady days of the Mission Institute, demanded the attention of Harms. In order to get his graduates to Africa in a cost-effective and timely manner, for instance, Harms had been forced to build his own ship, the *Candace*. This proved to be a wise decision, but it also meant more headaches. He was forced to dismiss two captains in a decade, including one otherwise exceptionally faithful man who nevertheless had the ship cut in two and lengthened without Harms's prior approval (just sending him the bill!).

The problem of mission field governance was, however, the biggest headache. The charter that Harms sent with his first group of missionaries combined spiritual and temporal concerns. He appointed the congregational pastor as well as a mayor and a constable. Given the distance from Germany (a round-trip communication could take eight months), Harms could not provide direct supervision of the mission. Instead, he vested the community meeting led by a *Vorsteher* with the authority to review and implement major decisions, such as the planting of future mission stations. Wickert well summarized the original charter:

> L. Harms had imagined his mission as a community mission. So he had given his departing missionaries and colonists an order that corresponded to these thoughts. . . . Everyone, missionaries and colonists, formed a Lutheran community that was organized down to the smallest thing, on the ecclesiastical as on the political side.
>
> At the head of the congregation stood the pastor, who had the parish council on his side. To the parish council belonged all deacons who were ordained missionaries, all catechetical teachers who were nonordained missionaries, as well as two representatives of the congregation. The duties of the parish council were church and school building, care of the poor, care of the sick, and church planting.
>
> At the head of the political community stood the mayor, a layman, who handled the police force and the court. Moreover there was the community meeting with the director [*Vorsteher*] presiding and all spiritual and worldly members of the community as participants. The community meeting had to decide about the choice of a new settlement, about the distribution of work, the appointment of persons as ambassadors in nonecclesiastical matters. The highest point of these structures with their departments or boards should be the Mission Institute in the homeland; it therefore possessed the superintendent.[58]

This democratic principle later became the focus of the church government dispute. The root of the crisis, however, was simply the rapid growth in size of the mission field. William Ireland noted that, with the arrival of the class of 1861, the Hermannsburg Mission "had forty missionaries, catechists, and teachers, together with eighty colonists" on a growing number of dispersed stations.[59]

THE CHURCH GOVERNMENT CRISIS

Dr. August Hardeland, who had been a Rhenish missionary to India, was chosen by Harms as the on-site superintendent for the burgeoning missionary enterprise. He was commissioned at a mission festival on 6 July 1859, and arrived in Kapstadt on 29 October. Before proceeding from there to Natal he wrote introductory letters that announced his appointment as superintendent.[60]

Hardeland already had developed strong views about the role of a mission field superintendent and was convinced that "everywhere missionaries needed a great deal of supervision and direction." From the beginning, therefore, Hardeland envisioned strict oversight:

> Because he knew the strong subjectivity of the missionaries, from the beginning he imputed everything to that, he intended to obligate missionaries to the recognition of his — and his successors' — office and to firm obedience.[61]

It was this formal vow that provoked the church government crisis. Pagel concluded,

> The missionaries, who previously knew only the patriarchal direction from Hermannsburg and were otherwise quite independent, first had to become accustomed to this innovation. It came to all sorts of troubles and tensions, which even Harms at home suffered and bore with difficulty.[62]

According to Haccius, Hardeland had surfaced apprehensions about resistance from the missionaries in Africa already at the time of his appointment, but Harms dismissed them, persuaded apparently by Hardeland's "convincing manner" in their personal conversation. Haccius was convinced that, if the Bechuana missionaries had waited to talk with Hardeland personally before taking a position on his superintendency, the controversy might have been averted. "Unfortunately the brothers did not await his coming," Haccius lamented, "and so it came to the sharp and sad conflict that made our African mission a painful casualty as a consequence."[63]

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permanent feature of Hermannsburg operations in South Africa" (*Preachers*, 37–38).

58. Wickert, *Und die Vögel*, 35; see also H. Harms, *Concerned*, 50–51. Note that it is debatable whether to use "community" or "congregation" whenever the German word *Gemeinde* is used here; so long as one recognizes that the spiritual and the temporal groups are one and the same, either English word is acceptable.
59. William Ireland, *Historical Sketch of the Zulu Mission in South Africa; as also of the Gaboon Mission in Western Africa* (Boston: American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, c. 1865), 24.
60. Hardeland arrived in Kapstadt on 29 October 1859, but did not arrive at Hermannsburg in Natal until 4 January 1860.
61. Haccius, *Missionsgeschichte*, 2:340.
62. Pagel, *Harms*, 67.
63. Haccius, *Missionsgeschichte*, 2:342

Many histories place the blame for the crisis on the shoulders of a few dissidents.[64] Initially, however, all Hermannsburg missionaries debated this startling development:

> [Hardeland] immediately summoned the missionaries of the Natal stations to a conference, produced for them his authority and instruction and asked them sincerely to subject themselves to him; whoever could not do that in good conscience, may not do it. If a large part of them could not do it, he would live temporarily as a private man until Harms had reached a decision. They requested a time of reflection until the afternoon; then they met again and joyfully and willingly vowed him obedience and respect. The missionaries of the heathen Zulu stations, that Hardeland visited, later did the same. They took to be sure a somewhat longer time for discussion, but they obeyed.[65]

Harms rejoiced: "Superintendent Hardeland quickly won the love of all the stations, and the brothers thank God from the heart for the dear man and subjected themselves willingly to his orders."[66] Nevertheless, as we will see, even though Hardeland must be credited with quickly securing widespread submission, giving consent did not imply being content.

In his introductory letter to the more distant Bechuana missionaries, Hardeland had expressed appreciation for the good things he had heard about their work, and suggested that he would likely appoint a regional supervisor for them, probably Schröder, "as the oldest and most experienced." Until his impending arrival there, however, he asked them not to "found any new stations or generally to take any large and important steps in the mission there." He specifically cautioned them against gossiping to Germany (that is, appealing directly to Harms) and asked them first to submit their conflicts to him for adjudication.[67] The Bechuana response came quickly by letter from missionary Schröder, written in the name of them all, and preempted Hardeland's visit to them. The letter explained that, while they had no problem with Hardeland personally, they protested "his instruction and his authority." They saw this "new arrangement" as "an unjust breach of our constitution and a lifting of all our regulations and rights, to which we are obligated." They also sent these objections directly to Harms and they told Hardeland "they could not submit to this order and demanded their old rights until a decision on the matter [by Harms]."[68]

Furthermore, the Bechuana missionaries had written to the other missionaries in Natal, appealing for their support. Haccius described it:

> The letter to the brothers in Natal was from Liteyane; on 28 December 1859, the missionaries Schröder, Backeberg, Schulenberg, and Zimmerman plus the colonists Herbst and Meyer jointly advised and signed it. They explain therein that they find themselves "in a great moral dilemma" and speak with the supposition that it would be so also for them. They write of course: "Against the superintendency and the person of Hardeland we have nothing as such." But they would not acknowledge that he would exercise "supervision and decision making in spiritual and worldly things." On the other hand they protested, asked for the calling of a general conference, but explained that they would not subject themselves to that, for it would be against the regulations; and "at no time will we give up decision making from our hands into the hands of the superintendent; for then we are no longer free men, but slaves [*Knechte*, see footnote]. What help is deliberation to us if we have no decision making?"[69]

This assertion of rights as "free men" and not "slaves" epitomized the conflict.

Harms immediately published his own anguished reaction: this was a "public flogging" (*Stäupung*) for him, "the most severe that I have ever experienced in our mission." He wrote "to the brothers and showed them his whole heart, so deeply wounded by them."[70] He "saw in them 'rebels' and 'haughty spirits,'" claimed Wendebourg.[71]

Hardeland also responded vigorously. He wrote "the poor straying brothers" to rebuke their claims and to tell them it was a simple matter of traditional Lutheran governance, a matter of

> a superintendent after the old manner of our church, in whose hands now is put supervision and decision making in spiritual as in worldly transactions, obviously according to God's word, according to our church's order, according to [Harms's] instruction.[72]

As "children" of their "dear father" Harms, Hardeland argued, the missionaries were not slaves; they were however obligated to "ask in love, confidence, and modesty and let themselves be taught."[73] "Children are obliged to obey except if it is against God's word," he asserted. "Is now the establishment of a superintendency against God's word?" he asked. "Just the opposite. In the Holy Scripture one finds nothing of the democratic and republican, but rather only 'the divine monarchic principle';

64. A particularly stunning example of this is Speckmann's lengthy treatment of the early Hermannsburg mission work in South Africa, in which he devotes basically one page to Hardeland. He calls Hardeland a "blessing" and attributes only a few difficulties to the Bechuana missionaries who later repented sincerely (*Die Hermannsburger Mission*, 207).
65. Wendebourg, *Harms*, 335. See also Pagel, *Harms*, 66–67.
66. *Hermannsburger Missionsblatt* (August 1860): 117.
67. Haccius, *Missionsgeschichte*, 2:342.
68. Ibid.
69. Ibid., 2:343. The German word *Knechte* is here translated "slaves" rather than "servants," since *Knecht* implies subjugation and oppression. This contrasts with *Diener* (see Harms's sermon to the class of 1861), which conveys willing service both to God and to other humans.
70. Hermannsburger Missionsblatt (August 1860): 117; (December 1860): 179.
71. Wendebourg, Harms, 381.
72. Haccius, *Missionsgeschichte*, 2:343.
73. Here Hardeland appeals to the relationship that existed between Harms and his missionaries. When he walked with the students, according to Wendebourg, Harms would tell them: "I am your father; you my dear, fine children" (*Harms*, 54). Harms never married and the missionaries became his family.

this also our dear Lutheran Church always acknowledged and emphasized."[74]

Hardeland dismissed their appeal to provisions of the original charter, since the majority of missionaries by this time had accepted the superintendency. He also suggested that they were proposing an understanding of the mission in which they would be little more than "servants and contract-missionaries" who were entitled merely to a "voluntary resignation." But he did admit they were right to recognize the abrogation of the original regulations: "In that little bit in which you are right, I consider you completely right. Through the instruction given to me those regulations are almost entirely transformed, and regarding authority almost completely abolished."[75]

Hardeland attributed their disobedience to a "malicious spirit" engendered by the mission field's English political culture, and considered the church government matter a "complete fig leaf of lies" designed to hide "their revolutionary spirit."[76] He rooted the controversy in simple greed, as he summarized it on 21 August 1863 at the end of his stormy tenure:

> Also for our rebels their commerce and acquisitions became the chief concern of their defection; therefore they have remained free people who did not want to have a superintendent over them, making an end to such mischief.

Haccius noted:

> Also the Bechuana missionaries—except Schulenberg—were in good circumstances through gifts and barter. In the latter there was the most favorable opportunity; yes, it nearly consumed them and they did not resist "the evil commercialism" firmly and decisively. Therein Hardeland also saw the primary reason for their resistance.[77]

What Hardeland actually did to the Bechuana rebels was as harsh as his words. First, he refused to bring them any more supplies, including their personal items sent with him from Germany. Second, he put them under the minor ban of excommunication which, while it "was read from the pulpit and . . . forbade all missionaries and colonists to interact with them," was described by Hardeland's successor, Karl Hohls, as more of a "fatherly" than ecclesiastical discipline.[78]

Harms supported Hardeland in this, and called the mission field disobedience one sign of "the democratic and rebellious desire in which we now live and by which each is infected more or less."[79] He long had opposed political democracy in Germany, an issue that was even more hotly contended in Hanover at this time, and Harms was in no mood for it in his own mission.

One of the Bechuana missionaries occupying a conciliatory position was Schulenberg, who later became the first "rebel" to submit to a year of probationary service in order to reestablish his trustworthiness. Initially, Schulenberg asked Harms for his brother Theodore to serve as an intermediator between Hardeland and the other missionaries. Then he returned to Germany to intercede directly with Harms after Hardeland rejected his overtures and insisted upon "severe demands."[80]

Harms referenced this trip in the *Missionsblatt*, asserting that Schulenberg had "returned to the disloyal three missionaries (of Bechuana)" and that "so long as they do not confess that they have struck it rich and subject themselves unconditionally to the superintendent, they will never more be acknowledged as Hermannsburg missionaries."[81] Schulenberg's persistence in appealing next to the Hanover Consistory, however, demonstrated deeper principles.[82] Still, when the Bechuana brothers also were rebuffed by the Berlin Mission, as Schulenberg was in Hanover, they had no alternatives to dealing with Hardeland on his terms.

Haccius admits that what Harms actually had in mind for a superintendency was probably somewhat different than what Hardeland implemented:

> It seems to me, nevertheless, that the view and intention of Harms was different [than Hardeland's sweeping alteration of the original charter]. He wanted to retain the system of government in essence, with only individual corrections needed. But the superintendent, as his supervisory representative, should have Africa in his hands in about the same manner as the director in the old homeland. Herein an uncertainty exists. It would have been better to assess this situation before the establishment of the superintendency and the superintendent's mission clearly established first, with the rights and duties of the new office and the old offices precisely defined toward one another, instead of the superintendent sent forth with some of the missionaries and colonists with an obscure instruction.[83]

The "obscure instruction" given to Hardeland by Harms, cited here, has unfortunately been lost; there remains only what has been said about it in various correspondence. While

74. Haccius, *Missionsgeschichte*, 2:344.
75. Ibid.
76. Ibid., 2:350.
77. Ibid., 2:346.
78. Ibid., 2:351.
79. *Hermannsburger Missionsblatt* (October 1861): 159.
80. Haccius, *Missionsgeschichte*, 2:348–349. On Theodore Harms as mediator, Haccius wrote: "Not that he would have protected the brothers, but he judged their behavior more mildly and obviously was of the opinion that they would allow themselves to be led. He had trained them and lived four years in the Mission House with them; he indeed knew them the best and his opinion was worth noting" (*Missionsgeschichte*, 2:349). Wendebourg put it this way: "The mediation of Theodor Harms, who without justifying them would judge the behavior of the erring brothers more mildly, Hardeland rejected; for he demanded—in agreement with the brothers in Natal—'unconditional submission'" (*Harms*, 340n).
81. Cited in Haccius, *Missionsgeschichte*, 2:349.
82. "Also, he was in Hanover," Haccius reported, "and obviously sought the ear and protection of ecclesiastical authorities. A consistory councilor—presumably Niemann—negotiated with him and also admonished him to obedience. He therefore must have found no support, because he then returned to Africa" (*Missionsgeschichte*, 2:349).
83. Haccius, *Missionsgeschichte*, 2:341. Wendebourg also recognized the problem: "The danger was in this, that from a fatherly and gently practiced direction which had to cause pampering suddenly came a strict government not free of bureaucracy" (*Harms*, 289).

Hartwig Harms claims that Harms's "original plan already had the provision to send out a bishop or other leader as the group grew," there was no hint of it in the original charter, and the democratic principle in some provisions (such as the community meeting) conflicted with the later superintendency.

Consequently, the problems were not simply in Bechuana, as Haccius realized, but were simmering under the surface throughout the mission field:

> It is and remains regrettable that Hardeland so resolutely rejected Schulenberg's request. . . . On the other hand, he certainly had cause to fear the danger of contagion through the spirit of the resistance, for it was fermenting among the brothers.[84]

In fact, the crisis spread beyond Bechuana when, in the beginning of 1862, missionaries Wiese and Fr. Meyer in Zululand resigned.

Harms was "distressed" over the resignation of Wiese because he was a capable missionary. Harms put the blame on the wife who, he said, "would rather be a lady and sit on the sofa than use her hands."[85] He acknowledged that the other missionaries did not grasp the seriousness of Wiese's insubordination and were calling for the exercise of love and patience, but Harms thought too much love and patience already had been exercised. He characterized Wiese's defection as satanic:

> Our previous missionary Wiese withdrew from our mission and intends, one hears, to buy a farmhouse to create there a model farm and at the same time to pursue mission. However, the cause of his resignation was discontent with the orders of the superintendent, by which he believed himself with pathological, haughty imagination roundly snubbed and offended. . . . And so then the spirit of rebellion that is ignited by Satan, that is now indeed throughout the entire world, also triumphs in our mission over a new offering.[86]

The harsh rebukes published by Harms reveal what Wendebourg called his "easily excited nature" a "shortcoming toward criticism that on the other hand gave his magazine a charming, child-like manner."[87] Child-like, perhaps, but not charming.[88]

Five colonists also resigned around the same time as Wiese and Meyer. This resulted in part from Hardeland's own dissatisfaction with the colonization, as he wrote in an 1862 report:

> In summary: where four, eight, twelve are together, there emerges and must emerge a type of farming that in large part takes all of the time, power, worry, so that one sees and notices very little of the mission. . . . In short, almost in that regard, colonists only damage a station of the mission.[89]

This conclusion was published in the *Missionsblatt* and outraged the colonists:

> Such words had evoked a state of agitation among the colonists, who were also already worked up about the manner of placement in which they were subordinated everywhere to the missionaries. And through this, that these had only, in their opinion, the easy and comfortable spiritual work, while however they must do the coarse, heavy work, created here and there a strong tension, especially where the missionary did not understand how to exercise his position with tact and love.[90]

Haccius reported that "the missionaries also moved more and more to Hardeland's side in the colonist question," which created a highly polarized atmosphere for the mission.[91]

Hardeland was by all accounts an energetic administrator. He traveled widely in spite of persistent arthritis, often meeting with government officials. But he regulated the mission work down to the smallest details and this micromanagement rankled many.[92] Wendebourg admits that "seven fallen away missionaries out of forty-two in mission service in Hardeland's time . . . is to be sure many," although he quickly concludes "that a cleansing thunderstorm was necessary." He was convinced that most "missionaries recognized Hardeland's great significance for the mission and willingly subordinated themselves to him and therewith to Harms."[93]

THE LIEFELD–HARDELAND DISPUTE

The third Hermannsburg graduating class arrived in 1862 amidst the church government crisis. One of its members was the Rev. F. W. Albert Liefeld,[94] whose own conflict with Hardeland is mentioned only in passing by Haccius: "With Meyer, Wiese, and Liefeld he later also had unpleasant conflicts that concluded with their resignation."[95]

84. Ibid., 2:350.
85. *Hermannsburger Missionsblatt* (September 1862): 131. See also Haccius, *Missionsgeschichte*, 2:352.
86. *Hermannsburger Missionsblatt* (May 1862): 68.
87. Wendebourg, *Harms*, 211.
88. The assessment of Haccius, that in conflicts Harms was "lovely and peaceful like a child, or more accurately, as a victor who only overcame his enemies with love," is a gross exaggeration (Haccius, *Missionsgeschichte*, 2:160). Pagel was closer to the truth when he admitted that Harms did not have "the slightest aptitude for a diplomat." According to Pagel, Harms had grown up in a household with "a strong and often rough spirit" and this tendency "could slip out angrily" in his own words and deeds. Neverthless, Harms was aware of such shortcomings and wanted, as Pagel notes, "to be yet more and more a child of peace" (*Harms*, 75).
89. Haccius, *Missionsgeschichte*, 2:352. Hardeland was, in general, unhappy dealing with farmers. "I would rather have to do with ten *Umpandas* (Zulu kings) than with these master farmers," he wrote, "and am very doubtful with respect to a mission that requires the favor of these farmers" (Haccius, *Missionsgeschichte*, 2:346).
90. Ibid., 2:353.
91. Ibid.
92. *Concerned*, 51–52. See also Haccius, *Missionsgeschichte*, 2:354.
93. Wendebourg, *Harms*, 343.
94. Great-grandfather of the author.
95. Haccius, *Missionsgeschichte*, 2:350. It is important to know that there was another missionary by the name of Liefeldt (possibly a distant relative)

Friedrich Wilhelm Albert Liefeld, who used only his initials or the middle name Albert, was born on 14 March 1831 in Ludwigsfelde, a small Prussian village southeast of Potsdam. He was the last of ten children. Most Liefelds were tailors, and Albert Liefeld also learned that trade, although his grandfather had been a teacher in Genshagen and he also had hoped to become a teacher. He served the four years of his compulsory military service in Posen with the fourth squadron of the prestigious second regiment Body-Hussars, so called, he later wrote, "because the sovereign himself is colonel of the regiment."[96] While in Posen, he regularly attended a congregation of the Breslau Synod, where Pastor Böhringer encouraged him to study at the Hermannsburg Mission Institute.[97]

Albert Liefeld began his studies at Hermannsburg in the fall of 1857 and graduated with the class of 1861. His class submitted to a weeklong final examination by the consistory in Hanover and, while Harms was not present during the examination, he did come to hear the results. "It must have been satisfactory to him," Liefeld remembered, "for we all did credit to our *Alma Mater* and our beloved director."[98] His Majesty George v of Hanover and the crown prince attended the October 29 ordination service at the Church of St. John in Hanover, which was followed by a royal reception at the castle.

After a whirlwind visit to family and friends in Ludwigsfelde and Posen, Albert Liefeld returned to Hermannsburg for the commissioning service on 13 November 1861. In the sermon, Harms touched upon fundamental issues of the church government crisis. "They should all abandon their own wills," he proclaimed, "and only live up to the will of the Lord and be his property in the way that they could say with Paul: I live, yet now I do not live, but Christ lives in me."[99]

After noting that the Lord had thoroughly warned against pride, Harms urged them to "be servants (*Diener*), servants of the Lord Jesus and servants of all people." "The chief virtue" of such a servant, Harms continued, is "obedience . . . with complete sacrifice and self-denial." Harms then asked that

> God may give therefore also grace to be wary especially of commercialism, by which so many missionaries have gone to ruin, becoming a swindler of the heathen, a cattle dealer to them and hunters; they would not be sent out in order to pursue trade, but to win souls for the Lord.[100]

Within days of their commissioning, the missionaries were bound for Africa on the mission ship, *Candace*. Liefeld later reported that Harms had required each of the missionaries to sign the affidavit of allegiance to Hardeland before departure:

> Pastor Harms, in setting Bro. B. (Johannes Brockmann) apart for the missionary service, had inadvertently used the following words: "If the superintendent should write to me concerning any matter and 'ten' — some of the brethren would have it that he said twenty — 'Missionaries should write the directly opposite concerning the same matter, I would rather believe the superintendent than the missionaries.' And ere we departed from Glückstadt we had to sign a document to the above effect.[101]

Unfortunately, during their departure, missionary Brockmann was removed from the ship for sending what Albert Liefeld called

> a crusty and disrespectful letter from Altona, in which he intimated that pastor Harms, who had hitherto treated us as his children, had now as much as sold us to superintendent H., by placing us entirely in his power.[102]

On account of such apparent disrespect and having felt like a "hunted deer" throughout the entire summer of 1861, Harms referred to this new heartache in his *Missionsblatt*:

> Then however two letters came that were terrible. The one brought the report of false accounting to light, signed by the captain, and the other was a letter by missionary Brokmann [*sic*] that explained he could no longer look at himself as my son and to me no longer as his father because I had demanded the missionaries sign that they would give obedience to the superintendency in Africa. Both letters

who had been sent to South Africa by the Berlin mission in 1839 and who died there on 8 March 1873. He had a daughter, Sophie Liefeldt, who was a teacher in Africa (Ed. Kratzenstein, *Kurze Geschichte der Berliner Mission in Südafrika* [Berlin: Selbstverlag des Missionshauses, 1887], 103). See also E. Pfitzner and D. Wangemann, *Wilhelm Posselt, der Kaffern-Missionar* (Berlin: Buchhandlung der Berliner evangelischen Missionsgesellschaft, 1891), 38, 54, 59 and 63. Initially only a catechist, Liefeldt was granted ordination as a result of his worthwhile work in King Williamstown 1850–52 (D. Julius Richter, *Geschichte der Berliner Missionsgesellschaft, 1824–1924* [Berlin: Buchhandlung der Berliner ev. Missionsgesellschaft, 1924], 117 and 166–167). Occasionally, published references to F. W. A. Liefeld are spelled "Liefeldt" and the Berlin missionary is misspelled "Liefeld" as in Wangemann, *Missionsarbeit*, 36.

96. F. W. A. L[iefeld], *Reminiscences of the South African Mission* (Columbus: Lutheran Book Concern, 1895), 5.
97. See F. W. A. Liefeld's obituary: "Nekrologe," *Verhandlungen des Oestlichen Distrikts* (Joint Synod of Ohio) 1907, 72–73.
98. Liefeld, *Reminiscences*, 2.
99. *Hermannsburger Missionsblatt* (December 1861): 185.
100. *Hermannsburger Missionsblatt* (December 1861): 187. Harms urged the newly appointed superintendent Hohls in 1864: "Fight with all powers the evil commercialism!" (Wendebourg, *Harms*, 293).
101. Liefeld, *Reminiscences*, 11.
102. Ibid., 10–11. Brockmann later reconciled with Harms and was available to meet Rev. Mühlhaeuser when he made his jubilee trip to Germany on behalf of the Wisconsin Synod, just as Albert wrote in his reminiscences: "Later on, however, he [Brockmann] again reconciled with pastor Harms and went to America with Rev. Mühlhaeuser, where he not only attained to honor and influence, but also to a goodly share of this world's goods. In the latter respect he is better situated than any of the other Hermannsburg brethren, and the place of our detention was for him, indeed, a *Glückstadt*—a lucky city" (Liefeld, *Reminiscences*, 11). These details are similar to the story told by John Philipp Koehler: "Harms of Hermannsburg, in November 1862, on Bading's request, sent Johannes Brockmann. . . . Early in 1875 he finally came to Watertown in place of the deposed Pastor Heinrichs of the *Markus-Gemeinde*, and died there in the harness 1904" (*The History of the Wisconsin Synod*, ed. Leigh D. Jordahl [St. Cloud, Minn.: The Protestant Conference, 1970], 88). It is also consistent with a remark made by Lindemann: "Johannes Brockmann was acquired directly from Her

> cut into the heart, sharp as a shearing knife. . . . The sad consequence of those letters was the release of the captain and Brokmann. Since that time no day has gone by where I did not ask for the sincere, penitent return of both.[103]

Harms always thought it was harder to bear the betrayal of his missionaries than even their deaths, as he had written in 1859:

> I have become by now a very fragile vessel, but I would not want you to be unfaithful, for that would completely break me; everything else, including your death, I can bear; your unfaithfulness I cannot.[104]

The arduous journey to Africa lasted over four months, and seasickness plagued these "landlubbers," who finally arrived at Hermannsburg in March of 1862. The new arrivals were rocked by their first news upon landing in Africa: the superintendent had just excommunicated Wiese. The grievous offense, according to Albert Liefeld, was that Wiese's wife had prematurely given birth and the missionary, who had been ordered to change stations, procured an unauthorized additional wagon to expedite his journey.

The bearer of bad tidings about the excommunication of Wiese and Meyer was the Berlin missionary Döhne. He had met the *Candace* in Natal, according to ship's chaplain Otte, whose correspondence with Harms was published in the *Missionsblatt*. Upon arrival in Port Elizabeth, Otte wrote, they had heard

> the multifarious rumors that were spread among us in Germany and also to us through letters we received. And we must say that each of us on his part had given some substance to such rumors.

Then, upon arrival in Natal, Döhne and two Hermannsburg missionaries kindled this "distrust toward Superintendent Hardeland," although all Otte had heard was the end of Döhne's speech: "I want to force no prejudice on you; but I must say that your Hardeland was papistic, just like a part of the papacy." While Otte later dismissed this characterization of Hardeland, calling him "no pope, but rather a very mild, humble superior," Otte returned to Germany with the ship and thus had only limited exposure to Hardeland.[105]

Liefeld was among those assigned to North Zululand, where he and Wagner were charged with founding a new mission station at Emyati. According to Liefeld, the superintendent decreed that novices should be paired together, with one designated the superior of the other, instead of pairing new arrivals with more experienced missionaries.[106] His recollection conflicts with Wendebourg, who described how Hardeland

> arranged it so that only one who lived on each station was a permanent missionary and assigned the 1862 dispersed novices to the old missionaries so that they learned the language from them and trained with them.[107]

Haccius, however, did report two teams of novices, including Wagner and Liefeld.[108]

Liefeld's dissatisfaction with the arrangement suggested to him a principle of human nature:

> In choosing superiors the capacity of the individual chosen was indeed regarded, but in such a manner that the less gifted was often made the superior of the more gifted, because, as experience has taught, weak and less gifted men are more dependent and can be made tools of more easily.[109]

While Liefeld clearly chafed at subordination to a fellow classmate, what he described was one danger of bureaucracy on a mission field.

When Liefeld later reflected on the many issues that might compel a missionary to abandon the field, including health and climate, he noted

> differences between them and the Home mission board, or between them and the authorities placed over them in heathen countries cause them to resign and quit the work.

In fact, Albert Liefeld vigorously disagreed with Hardeland on "Church government, communism and individuality." And Liefeld was not alone; he noted that Hardeland also threatened to suspend a missionary who was "the favorite of us all . . . on account of this same question, Church government."[110]

That the church government crisis was still heated in 1863 is demonstrated by Karl Hohls's letter to Harms, which mentions the July missionary conference. One of the subjects, reported Hohls, was "The Ban According to Lutheran Church Doctrine with Reference to Our Mission" ("the occasion," he reported, "was Superintendent Hardeland's ban practice"). Haccius also

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mannsburg in 1862 (he was not accepted as a member of the synod until 1864, however)"; although Lindemann is inaccurate elsewhere: "Over the course of the years many Hermannsburgers who had difficulties in heathen missions were reassigned to America, among them Johannes Brockmann, who in 1864 left Africa and joined the Wisconsin Synod" ("In This Sign You Shall Conquer: The Story of Louis Harms, the Hermannsburg Mission Society, and Their Contributions to the Wisconsin Synod," *WELS Historical Institute Journal* 20, no. 1 [April 2002]: 22 and 40).

103. *Hermannsburger Missionsblatt* (January 1862): 3. The "hunted deer" remark was made in a letter on 23 November 1861 (Wendebourg, *Harms*, 268).
104. Harms speaking to those commissioned in 1859; cited in Haccius, *Missionsgeschichte*, 2:219. See also Wendebourg, Harms, 268 and 382.
105. *Hermannsburger Missionsblatt* (June 1862): 85–87. Otte was shocked that such harsh words against Hardeland would come from "a missionary who was described to us earlier as benevolent" (*Hermannsburger Missionsblatt* [June 1862]: 86).
106. Liefeld, *Reminiscences*, 21–22.
107. Wendebourg, *Harms*, 347.
108. Haccius, *Missionsgeschichte*, 2:397.
109. Liefeld, *Reminiscences*, 22. Once again, Liefeld's assessment conflicts with others: "And obviously [Hardeland] had a keen eye for the circumstances as well as for the personalities and understood how to place the right men at the right place" (Haccius, *Missionsgeschichte*, 2:370).
110. Ibid., 80.

noted that this was debated "after the resignation of Meyer and Wiese."[111]

Albert Liefeld delivered a paper on "Church-government" for this conference, at which time Hardeland had "declared, that he firmly believed that God in the days of the apostles instituted Church government, and that St. Peter was by divine right, placed over the other apostles." Liefeld later wrote he had been "conscience bound to declare to the superintendent that in this respect he went even farther than the Church of Rome itself, as the learned and astute champion of the papal Canon law, Robt. Bellarmin, only went so far as to say that St. Peter was 'primus inter pares,' *i.e*. 'The first among equals.'"[112]

Harms by this time had received the last report of Wendlandt (who had been placed over Meyer) before his death, in which Wendlandt provided a reassuring assessment of Hardeland:

> I thank God we have our dear superintendent; he is the right man whom the Lord himself showed to you for our mission. I ask you urgently, to let yourself through this and that which might come to you garbled, distorted, or half-heard, not in the least to misjudge your confidence in the superintendent. I write that because this and that is reported to me, what one recounts and says of the superintendent in Germany. It is my firmest conviction and I know that it will please you to hear this from me: without a superintendent the mission would have collapsed here. Our superintendent is missing only one thing: bodily health.[113]

This great praise, often cited, actually presupposes significant opposition to Hardeland throughout his tenure. And not only opposition to Hardeland, for Hohls told Harms that the 1863 conference of missionaries "had expressed itself against Harms disrespectfully," which "moved [Harms] painfully and deeply in his last year of life."[114]

Although the missionaries grumbled about Harms as well as Hardeland, there is no indication in Albert Liefeld's reminiscences that he shared such sentiments. He had nothing but praise for Harms and the work of Hermannsburg, although it is likely that Hardeland associated him with other dissidents in reports to Harms. When Liefeld later also returned to Hermannsburg, Louis Harms refused to meet with him and it was Theodore Harms who gave him a good recommendation for America.

Albert Liefeld reported a sense of vindication when Hardeland, after his resignation for ill health, delivered an anti-Hermannsburg speech in Hanover. Liefeld wrote:

> He showed how much the Hermannsburg missions annually cost, how small the return in converts was for the money expended and how unreliable even those souls were that had been gained for Christ, so that the faithful Christians who heard him left the church greatly deceived in the man and highly indignant. Thus this man showed his gratitude to God and father Harms for the great confidence the latter had placed in him.

Liefeld later learned, upon his return to Hermannsburg, that Harms, too, had finally realized how much Hardeland was a liability.[115]

The church government crisis had taken its toll on Albert Liefeld. In consultation with Superintendent Hohls, he decided to seek assignment in America, where two of his older brothers already had emigrated.[116] Instead of going there directly, however, he returned first to Germany with "a very sick person" that Hohls needed to send back to Germany on the *Candace* (thus securing Liefeld free passage home and enough money for rail travel in Germany).[117]

At this point, Albert Liefeld went so far as to accuse Superintendent Hardeland of physical abuse. The "poor demented brother" who traveled to Germany from Africa with him was, he wrote, one "whom Supt. Dr. A. H. vainly tried to cure." In describing this "cure, " Albert Liefeld not only revealed disdain for its ineffectiveness, but profound disgust with Hardeland personally:

111. Haccius, *Missionsgeschichte*, 2:351. While Hohls generally defended the goal of Hardeland's ban practice, he also indicated that he did not continue it.
112. Liefeld. *Reminiscences*, 81.
113. Cited in Haccius, *Missionsgeschichte*, 2:355.
114. Haccius, *Missionsgeschichte*, 2:364. After Hardeland's return to Germany, Harms wrote that Hardeland's criticism of his "governing talent" seemed to agree with what the 1863 Natal conference of missionaries had said about him. Hartwig Harms wrote of this: "A conference of the missionaries in South Africa which took place with Hardeland's presence, although after his resignation, listed some points in which L. Harms was accused of having failed as an administrator. They included nearly all those marks by which L. Harms' enterprise distinguished itself from other mission societies: a seminary remote from the town, main support only by a congregation, communal economy and responsibility vested in the director only" (H. Harms, *Concerned*, 63–64).
115. Liefeld, *Reminiscences*, 89–90. For more on the end to Hardeland's relationship with Harms, see Wendebourg, *Harms*, 422–423; and Haccius, *Missionsgeschichte*, 2:363–365. Albert Liefeld wrote regarding it: "I have no doubt that father Harms got to know his 'faithfulness' before the Dr. delivered his famous anti-missionary address at Hanover. For after the Dr's. return from Africa, he went to Hermannsburg, but stayed there only two days. Perhaps his short stay was also owing to differences of opinion. For the Dr. [Hardeland] had returned from Africa with the scheme to consolidate the Hermannsburg with the Leipzic [*sic*] mission-institute in such a manner, that the graduates from Hermannsburg—whose theoretical education was somewhat inferior to that of the Leipzic [*sic*] graduates—should become the latter's assistants in the mission work and be subject to them. However old father Harms was just the right person to dispose of such a scheme! His mission, which by God's grace he had called into existence and brought into a flourishing condition, should always remain independent and untrammeled" (*Reminiscences*, 89–90). Liefeld concluded, "the Hermannsburg mission was not mortally wounded by the insidious thrust of one of its former superintendents"; and even though Harms had shunned him upon his visit to Hermannsburg, Liefeld seemed to hold no grudges: "Many a brother who was at that time termed, 'unfaithful' is still faithfully serving or supporting the 'alma mater' in carrying on her blessed work among the heathens. For every sincere and right-minded Christian always distinguishes between the work and the person carrying on the work, and therefore, never permits a just cause to suffer for the faults and weaknesses of individuals engaged in it, as faults and mistakes are unavoidable where human beings are concerned. It can truthfully be said of all Hermannsburgers that, 'Old love never gets rusty'" (*Reminiscences*, 90).
116. Ibid., 81.
117. Liefeld reported that he financed his trip to America through the sale of his cavalry sabre and pistol, as well as a double-barreled gun (*Reminiscences*, 82–83).

> How, think you, did the worthy Supt. endeavor to cure him? The Norwegian brethren up in Zululand had already informed us of the Dr's. methods. They told us—and did not know whether they should laugh or weep whilst telling us—how Dr. A. H. had tried to cure hypochondria by getting two men to hold the patient by the arms whilst a third was ordered to apply green charcoal to his back, *i.e.* to whip him. This was done again and again until the patient lost his reason entirely.[118]

The strong feelings expressed here demonstrate how Superintendent Hardeland had become a much more controversial figure throughout the South African mission field than often is acknowledged.[119]

THE UNDERPINNINGS OF THE CRISIS

Several factors contributed to the severity of the church government crisis within the Hermannsburg Mission: the inevitable process of institutionalizing a nascent movement, the revolutionary German political situation after 1848, the heated Prussian church government conflicts, and the prickly personalities of Hardeland and Harms.

The Institutionalization of a Mission

It was Max Weber who first popularized the notion of charismatic authority and institutionalization.[120] While Weber's schema was in many ways oversimplified and his sociological constructs inherently debatable, he had useful insights. One recent theorist who developed them is Francesco Alberoni, who emphasized "that even the great movements initially arise in the form of relatively small nuclei of individuals who manifest a particular form of solidarity."[121] This so-called nascent state "represents a phase of discontinuity from both the institutional and the everyday-life point of view."[122]

What initially motivated Harms, his supporters, and his students was a fervent Pietism that conflicted with mainstream Lutheranism.[123] There was a shared experience of conversion and its nurture in the Hermannsburg congregation since, as Wickert observed, even the rebels "were all men who had gone through Harms's revival and conversion."[124]

It is increasingly difficult to maintain such a nascent state as time elapses, and the advent of a bureaucratic superintendency only accelerated that process in the Hermannsburg Mission. According to Alberoni, institutionalization is inevitable because however novel a nascent movement or its mode of life may be, "it is obliged to assume a form to acquire a structure." That is, Alberoni asserts,

> at a certain point it must become a concrete and historical project and collide with the contingent concrete and historical forces, thus becoming, itself, an institution and a part of everyday life.[125]

There is, in other words, nothing particularly malevolent about institutionalization, since it is the inescapable process by which visions of change and reform move from the periphery toward the mainstream of culture.

One critical element in the institutionalization of a movement is the leader.[126] The charismatic leader has a "license to have many preferential relationships simultaneously, while only one preferential relationship is allowed to the subordinates"; that is, the leader remains free but the followers are bound.[127] Disagreements with the leader are betrayal and the leader will exhibit anguish along with sanctions to discipline his followers.

Wendebourg observed that the church government crisis made Harms "weary of life," and he did not hide this feeling from his missionaries.[128] Nor did he refrain from chastising his "unfaithful children." It is difficult to tell when and how Harms differentiated between faithfulness to the Lord (a common subject for him) and faithfulness to him as the Lord's instrument. Even disagreements over temporal matters became matters of spiritual unfaithfulness. Relations with Louis Harms were smooth as long as his followers remained within the boundaries defined by him.

The church government crisis was not the first betrayal. Already in the very first class, two students failed to complete their studies because they resisted the nonacademic duties assigned to them (one of whom was Johannes Bading, who quick-

118. Liefeld, *Reminiscences*, 84. Only in the original German edition, did Liefeld continue: "Had this healing method outraged us, it did not lessen the willingness with which brothers yielded themselves to such unworthy service" (*Erinnerungen aus der Südafrikanischen Mission* [Columbus,Ohio: Lutherischen Verlags, 1891], 86–87).

119. There is some equivocation in Haccius's history. On the one hand, he cited the close working relationship with the Norwegian and Berlin missionaries ("The Hermannsburg brothers had a friendly relationship with other missions, above all to the Norwegian and to the Berlin Missions, thanks especially to the actions of the superintendent" [*Missionsgeschichte*, 2:368]). On the other hand, he admitted that these missionaries sided with the rebels ("These [Norwegian missionaries] like the Berlin missionaries obviously were not on the side of Hardeland" [*Missionsgeschichte*, 2:346]). There are accounts of the South African mission that reflect the harsher judgment of Hardeland. Edwin W. Smith, for instance, wrote that Hardeland was "a man of imperious temper and used his almost unlimited powers in such a despotic manner that some of the men under him rebelled" (*Great Lion of Bechuanaland: The Life and Times of Roger Price, Missionary* [London: London Missionary Society, 1957], 167). J. Du Plessis also wrote that Hardeland, while "a man of immense energy and initiative," was "apparently, deficient in tact and forbearance" (*A History of Christian Missions in South Africa* [Cape Town: C. Struik, 1965], 375).

120. See, for instance, *Max Weber on Charisma and Institution Building: Selected Papers*, ed. S. N. Eisenstadt (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1968).

121. Francesco Alberoni, *Movement and Institution,* trans. Patricia C. Arden Delmoro (New York: Columbia University Press, 1984), 19.

122. Ibid., 20.

123. One constant biographical theme is the opposition and ridicule that Harms faced. Hohls wrote that Harms was "praised by many, despised and ridiculed by many, and had at that time like today bad and good rumors. Where I was, at the work place or somewhere else, I fought for the dear man: for . . . no man has preached like he does, I always said to his enemies" (cited in Haccius, *Missionsgeschichte*, 2:39).

124. Wickert, *Und die Vögel*, 38.

125. Alberoni, *Movement*, 21.

126. Ibid., 27.

127. Ibid., 148.

128. Wendebourg, *Harms*, 381.

ly became president of the Wisconsin Synod after emigration to America).[129] This caused Harms great personal anguish, as Haccius made clear when he reported that Harms poured out his heart to his congregation "as a father pours out his troubles to a mother." Haccius called the incident a "humiliation" and a "painful experience."[130]

The German Political Situation after 1848

The effects of the 1848 revolution were felt everywhere in Germany. In most places, a conservative counter-revolution gained momentum, closely allied with a political Pietism.[131]

"The political reaction killed the liberal gains of the revolution practically all over Germany," wrote Holborn. "Hanover also saw a return to her old constitution of 1831 in the modified and more reactionary form of 1837–1840."[132] King George v, claimed Haccius, "experienced . . . 'a conservative revolution', which . . . wanted to retain the old and resisted the new."[133]

The advent of synodical and presbyterial church government in the wake of 1848 particularly alarmed the clergy. "The Protestant ministers saw their authority and with it the right creed endangered," wrote Holborn.[134] Harms blamed liberalism since, according to Haccius, Hanover's "conservative revolution" was "only an aftermath of the revolution of 1848, a strong violation of nonecclesiastical liberalism against altar and throne and against all authority." And so Harms "became the leader of an anti-revolutionary movement."[135]

While Harms believed the Lutheran Church would continue to exist, he was uncertain of its earthly shape and form. "He expected no help from the synod and was not enthusiastic about the synodical constitution" because "he feared that through it democracy would reign in the church."[136] Harms pulled no punches; he wrote to a friend in 1862 that "in the previous year I had thrown mud at the democrats as servants of tyranny."[137] Hardeland likewise reprimanded the rebellious missionaries: "In the Holy Scripture one finds nothing of the democratic and republican, but rather only 'the divine monarchic principle.'"[138]

The Prussian Church Government Conflicts

One obscure source of the South African controversy was the turmoil of Prussian Lutheranism. Not referenced directly, its role must be inferred from the indications of its influence. This turmoil stemmed from protests against the Prussian Union and the formation of the Breslau Synod in 1841 under Huschke's leadership.

Although Harms was a member of the Hanover Land Church, the issues raised in Prussia were of wider concern. The Union had provoked an increased confessionalism among Lutherans as far away as the United States, where the Missouri Synod constitution specifically repudiated it. Hermannsburg missionaries also were strongly anti-Union and saw it as defining the identity of modern Lutheranism.

Less obvious, however, was the dispute that eventually led to the rupture of the Breslau Synod. According to Wangemann, the initial unity of Union opponents was deceptive because it

> became a complete conglomeration of a large number of disparate elements, whose individual parts let themselves, through Huschke's great diplomatic skill, become . . . united in the joint protest with only his interests in mind.[139]

Once the official concession had been granted, however, the internal divisions emerged more clearly.

Two concerns in particular coalesced: Huschke's divine right theory of church government was linked to the Pietistic chiliasm popular among Breslauers. One pastor who had withdrawn from Breslau already in 1834 because of it (Wehrhan) claimed chiliasm was so widespread among them that "only I among them could not derive the origin of the entire enterprise from our Symbols." He charged that the synod "acted with chiliasm not as the church of the word, but rather as Huschke expressed himself, of 'temporal government.'"[140] They wanted, he claimed, a "theocracy erected, for which the establishment of lay elders [presumably, the *Vorsteher*s] . . . would be necessary."[141]

Diedrich sparked the public debate in 1857 by focusing on the spiritual rather than temporal nature of the church. The highest government is the government of Christ, he argued, "a government of the word which is completely in the preaching office — a spiritual government without each and every external means of compulsion." The danger in disobeying the word of Christ is spiritual, he claimed, and "in the last analysis only the Lord knows" the heart and mind of the listener (and temporal discipline only creates a "police state," another critic argued). Diedrich objected to being "slaves (*Sklaven*)" of the High Church Council; Christ wants to reign over his congregation "only with words," he claimed, "and not drive them like pigs."[142]

Diedrich was widely scorned as a contentious rebel, but he also had one very important point. The synod had acted by majority vote when constituting the High Church Council in 1841.

129. Lindemann, "In This Sign," 22.
130. Haccius, *Missionsgeschichte*, 2:48.
131. See Theodore S. Hamerow, *Restoration, Revolution, Reaction: Economics and Politics in Germany, 1815–1871* (Princeton University Press, 1972) and Bigler, *Politics*.
132. Holborn, *Modern Germany*, 112–113.
133. Haccius, *Missionsgeschichte*, 2:153.
134. Holborn, *Modern Germany*, 109.
135. Haccius, *Missionsgeschichte*, 2:153.
136. Ibid., 2:158.
137. Ibid., 2:155–156.
138. Ibid., 2:344.
139. Wangemann, *Kirchenstreit*, 5. Wangemann concluded: "We prove through the previous witnesses that from the first emergence of the separated Lutherans very disparate elements were gathered under Huschke's government, and that from the beginning there was a reaction of the old-Lutheran spirit against the new unLutheraness issuing from the apocalyptic bodily idea (*LeiblichkeitsIdee*)." This early conflict led to the emigration of Grabau and the departure of Wehrhan, Kindermann, and Guericke from the Breslau Synod.
140. Ibid., 10.
141. Ibid., 11.
142. Ibid., 12 and 31–32.

"Therefore the [High Church Council] is indeed the synod and our child — and can we now make our child our father? I do not believe so."[143] Diedrich also asserted, "A church government which did not develop historically, but rather came from the free choice of a convened group of Lutheran laity, may not claim for itself the long historical development of a spiritual father office."[144] In a voluntary free church, it is hard to rationalize unconditional obedience using the Fourth Commandment.

The conflict was fueled by heavy use of ecclesiastical media, particularly the *Kreuzzeitung*, employed by both sides in the dissemination of attacks.[145] Presumably, even missionaries in South Africa would keep abreast of developments when newspapers and theological journals reached them, even as Harms did in Hermannsburg. Letters from family, friends, and colleagues in Germany also could have referenced the controversies.

The charges of arbitrary subjectivity, individualism, and "independentism" by Harms and Hardeland were stylized complaints employed by Huschke and the Breslau Synod. Countercharges of "Romanism" and "slavery" were characteristic of those who defected to form the Immanuel Synod. Thus, the Berlin missionary Döhne's description of Hardeland as "papistic" when the class of 1861 arrived in South Africa is more than a critique of personality. It suggests a philosophy of church government then very much in dispute among confessional Lutherans.

There were not merely two polarized positions in the conflict, to which one responded simply by "choosing sides." It was much more a matter of various major issues in contention, about which one might have a different opinion and a different application than other confessional Lutherans.

Harms, for instance, expected the same strict obedience to church government as did the Breslau Synod:

> Therefore we are however also indebted and obligated by God to give obedience to the church government, just as and still more than to the worldly government, and whoever places himself against church government goes against God's order and will receive his judgment.[146]

He also shared a chiliastic hermeneutic with the Breslauers. Yet, unlike them, Harms so vehemently opposed democracy that he all but repudiated his original missionary charter with its community meeting and *Vorsteher*.[147]

In 1860, against the Bechuana rebels, Hardeland cited the Lüneberg church order to which Harms had subordinated his mission, which

> knows nothing of congregational meetings, elections, and the right to vote and decision by a majority, but rather only of congregations, pastors, superintendent, and so forth.

Hardeland also bemoaned Harms's initial reliance on Breslau's ecclesiastical practice:

> That however the mission of our dear Lutheran Church did not constitute itself immediately from the beginning into this [Lüneberg] divine order, it has had to heavily atone for already.[148]

Missionaries sent out with one ecclesiology were confronted with another.

The Hermannsburg "rebels" had not simply invented their arguments against August Hardeland. The missionary conference in 1863 at which Albert Liefeld presented his paper on church government and accused Hardeland of out-Romanizing Bellarmin — a conference that also focused on Hardeland's controversial use of the minor ban — shows South African missionaries wrestling with the same issues occupying German Lutherans generally (as well as Walther and the Missourians in America when contending with Grabau and Löhe). The high cost of disagreement was as real for some South African missionaries as it was for Prussian dissidents, as Liefeld indicated when listing "church government" and "individuality" among the reasons a missionaries might have "differences" with "the authorities placed over them," forcing them to "quit the work."[149]

The Personalities of Hardeland and Harms

Historical accounts of the Hermannsburg Mission usually adopt the perspective of Harms and Hardeland, although treating the church government crisis as "unfaithfulness" is a gross oversimplification. One simply cannot paint the whole canvas of that struggle with the wide brush of missionary malfeasance. Too many of the dissident missionaries were capable and diligent for that to be true.[150]

143. Ibid., 17.
144. Ibid.
145. Pastor Diedrich quickly went to print in his criticism of the Breslau Synod, as did Huschke in reply. Their respective allies likewise were not publicity shy. See Wangemann, *Kirchenstreit*; and Nagel, *Die evangelische-lutherische Kirche*. A major step toward the resolution of this bruising struggle was a Berlin Conference in 1861 that included Delitzsch, Lasius, Münkel, Lohmann, Crome, Besser, Pistorius, M. Frommel, Kahnis, Nagel, Huschke, and Mejer. The complete record of the conference was published: *Die Verhandlungen der Commission zur Erörterung der Principien der Kirchen-Verfassung, welche in Berlin vom 26. Sept. bis zum 3. Oct. 1861 stattgefunden*, ed. Ludwig Feldner (Halle: H. Petersen, 1862).
146. *Hermansburger Missionsblatt* (October 1861): 160. In an 1865 letter to a friend, Harms commends the "excellent emphasis of the term and concept 'church government" which is, he writes, "entirely Huschke's view." What Harms embraces is the pastoral duty of obedience, which he thinks will fall heaviest on the unfaithful: "And with that the tip of this concept 'church government' is toward the faithful pastors while the blunt side is turned against the unfaithful" (Haccius, *Missionsgeschichte*, 2:157).
147. Wendebourg writes of Harms: "At the beginning of the year 1863, he opened the battle against majority rule in a treatise about 'voting,' that now through the synods intrudes into the church, with the words: 'Voting and torment belong together'" (*Harms*, 219).
148. Cited in Haccius, *Missionsgeschichte*, 2:344.
149. Liefeld, *Reminiscences*, 80.
150. It is hard to imagine that Albert Liefeld, for instance, merely had a problem with authority when he had successfully served four years in the Prussian Black Hussars.

In the most recent history of the Hermannsburg Mission, Hartwig Harms realized much of the blame lay with Hardeland:

> Unfortunately [Hardeland] was a very hasty man and not flexible at all. In order to enhance his own authority, he overreacted when the missionaries among the Tswana refused to accept his authority before they had been informed of his powers by the missionaries' council (which he had already dissolved). By suspending and excommunicating them immediately, he put a dilemma before Louis Harms who, being far from the scene, could not intervene directly. On the one hand, he could not endorse the disobedience of the missionaries and had to uphold the authority of his superintendent. On the other hand, he was increasingly unhappy with the style of Hardeland, who acted as master towards missionaries and Africans alike, whereas Harms wanted all the missionaries to be servants who applied love, not law and force, to personal relationships.[151]

While Hartwig Harms here downplays the responsibility of Louis Harms, there is little doubt his grasp of Hardeland's role in the church government crisis is correct.

Louis Harms knew his mission was less than ideal and it is clear that this bothered him.[152] His perfectionistic expectation, so characteristic of Pietism, led him to underemphasize in practice one of the fundamental ideals he taught: that in Christ they were to serve one another in love, with gracious forbearance and forgiveness.

One reason Karl Hohls could heal the wounds Hardeland created during the church government crisis was that he was one of the original missionaries who truly had proven himself in service with them and so was able to function as a servant-leader. Hartwig Harms has acknowledged that Louis Harms "belonged to a patriarchal age, and the way in which he received respect and made use of his authority seems not to fit any more in a democratic age."[153]

Wickert, in his 1949 history, suggests that the church government crisis actually initiated a more realistic Hermannsburg Mission:

> This crisis was, religiously seen, the "fall" of our South African Mission. . . . There our mission . . . walked out of paradise with enthusiasm on the way of a painful but true earthly history. The mission work is earthly history, afflicted with all the weaknesses and sins of the earth; its bearers are men of the world, not saints; the field of work is the kingdom of Satan, a strong-armed one who also can bring the missionary easily to ruin. . . . That this awareness, if it must be, also must be won by a catastrophe shows how necessary it is. Nothing can the mission more heavily bear than the false illusion, even the illusion about itself. That must be torn. And it is then torn. The missionary is not only a messenger of grace to the world. He himself also always needs grace and must return through daily remorse and penitence.[154]

Perhaps this is the greatest lesson of the church government crisis: that with real human beings in service to Christ, reliance upon dominating power accentuates sinful behavior. Servant leadership grounded in mutual submission to grace keeps the focus on Christ. This is precious wisdom, drawn from painful experience, and such wisdom must not be forgotten. LOGIA

151. H. Harms, *Concerned*, 62. Hartwig Harms also recognized that it was the resignation of Hardeland "that made it possible to solve these problems in Africa."
152. Wendebourg documented Harms's struggle with the real and the ideal: "Because he tended however to regard things as he desired to form them in noble striving: ideally, as he wrote the more sober Hardeland from his approach sharpened by reality: 'It goes entirely differently in the actual mission than in the ideal that one creates in thought' (1863, 29)" (*Harms*, 211). Pagel claimed his idealistic tendency was present from the first: "God's work in his dear congregation at Hermannsburg he saw too ideally in a too rosy light. So he wrote in a letter to his brother that he had actually converted all the people, except for two or three families who were against him. It was his expectation that the millennial kingdom with a universal conversion of men was quite near and so something like an initial sign of that should be established in Hermannsburg. But Harms was then to see and learn to judge more soberly soon" (*Harms*, 54).
153. H. Harms, *Concerned*, 93.
154. Wickert, *Und die Vögel,* 38.

Let Us Do Good

Forty Years of WELS Medical Missions in Central Africa

Wendland, Sauer, and Braun

On 26 November 1961, a Lutheran Dispensary was formally dedicated at the Sala Reserve in Northern Rhodesia, Africa. This dedication service marked the beginning of a medical mission that has continued over four decades. It has involved many men and women of the Wisconsin Evangelical Lutheran Synod (WELS) and people living in Zambia and Malawi, especially from the Lutheran Church of Central Africa (LCCA).

In his epistle to the Galatians, the apostle Paul emphasized the doctrine of justification by grace alone through faith in Jesus Christ. Toward the close of this epistle he encouraged his congregations in Asia Minor to "do good." Preaching the good news of the Savior will bring forth fruit that reflects not only our Lord's words but his deeds of love as well. Such humanitarian activity will be extended in two directions, first "to all people," and "especially to those who belong to the family of believers."

This passage summarizes the double thrust of the Wisconsin Synod's medical mission in Central Africa. Our medical work was offered wherever the gospel was being introduced, both to the Sala tribe in Zambia and to African non-Christians, including Muslims, along the shores of Lake Malawi. It still is being directed "to all people." As the "family of believers" of our Lutheran Church has spread over many areas of Zambia and Malawi, more of this ministry of mercy is being directed toward fellow Christians in Africa.

"AS WE HAVE OPPORTUNITY"

The Wisconsin Synod had existed for more than one hundred years when this ministry began. There had been work overseas with established churches in Poland and Germany, and with partner church bodies of the Synodical Conference in Nigeria. Following the exploratory mission trek of Pastors Edgar Hoenecke and Arthur Wacker into Africa in 1949, however, our synod was presented with a different kind of venture. For the first time, we were working independently among people on a foreign continent, reaching many who had never heard the gospel.

Wisconsin's 1953 convention *Proceedings* report the sending of the families of Pastor A. B. Habben and Mr. Paul Ziegler to the Sala Reserve of Northern Rhodesia. At that time, the synod's entire mission program was reorganized into a General Board for Home Missions and a General Board for Foreign Missions, each with its own chairman, executive committee, and focus of service.

The 1955 convention was the first to implement this reorganization. Pastor Hoenecke was elected as chairman of the General Board for Foreign Missions. Pastor Arnold Mennicke continued to serve as chairman of the Executive Committee for the Northern Rhodesian Mission in Central Africa. Dr. Arthur Tacke was elected to serve on this committee as lay representative. Prominent in the 1955 report was that work was begun in "Sala Land," where a mission station was located on a 160-acre land grant provided by Chief Shakumbila. From the beginning, "house dispensaries" appeared on the doorsteps of the homes of the missionaries. Missionaries were being besieged with requests for medical services by the native people, and they found themselves ill-equipped for this service. The only other help generally available to Africans came from native practitioners, whose "remedies" often involved witchcraft.

From the beginning, Chief Shakumbila had requested a medical service. Pastors Hoenecke and Wacker, whose wives were experienced, registered nurses, had immediately recognized the great need for such help, as had the wives of other missionaries serving there.

With considerable forethought, Hoenecke, now chairman of the General Board for Foreign Missions, included the matter of "medical missions" in his report to the synod's 1957 convention. During the "Great Mission Century," as historian Scott Latourette calls the nineteenth century, church mission organizations placed increasing emphasis on humanitarian activities as a means for spreading the gospel, rather than on the actual means of grace. This "social-gospel movement" placed highest propriety on providing food and medicine for the body, to the lesser emphasis or even the neglect of the needs of the soul. Hoenecke emphasized that humanitarian aid was to be provided where a demonstrable need was apparent. Although concern for physical health was "by no means as important as spiritual well-being, it is not foreign to the spirit of Christ, as we see in the Gospels." In some foreign fields "it would be heartless and unwise to neglect some form of medical or health service." Finally, he expressed the principle that "such medical or health services ought to be limited."

Ernst H. Wendland and Theodore A. Sauer. Wendland regularly signed himself "E. H. Wendland" and Sauer used his nickname "Tate" in correspondence. Adapted for publication by Mark Braun, Wisconsin Lutheran College, Milwaukee.

Humanitarian assistance would be a natural expression of Christian love, a fruit of faith rather than a primary means of extending the kingdom of God. It would be a way for Christians to show their Christian love in action, especially to those hearing the message of a loving Savior for the first time.

By 1959, plans for medical work were "slowly crystallizing," with women's organizations already contributing "a sizable amount." The program was to be initiated by nurses, and a clinic was to be erected at the preaching station. Hoenecke's position as chairman of the Board for Foreign Missions became a full-time position, allowing him to study more carefully what kind of program would best fit the needs of the synod's ministry. A Central Africa Medical Mission Committee (CAMMC) was formed: Dr. Arthur Tacke, chairman; Dr. Heinz Hoenecke; and Mrs. Meta Hoenecke, RN, wife of Rev. Edgar Hoenecke.

A SURVEY IS MADE

Hoenecke carefully and personally studied what kind of program would best fit the situation as our synod ventured into this program of humanitarian aid. He benefited greatly from the experience of his wife Meta, who had served many years in public health nursing. Funds for making a study in the meantime had been gathered from women's organizations, organized by Pastor Arnold Mennicke, chairman of the Executive Committee of the Northern Rhodesian Mission, and his wife Thea.

A detailed report of the Hoeneckes is available in the memoir *Healing in His Wings*. The Hoenecke's first visit took place at Kafue, Northern Rhodesia, a bush clinic operated by the Methodist Church under the leadership of nurse Constance Howard. The clinic's program was "strong on preventive medicine," with "classes in hygiene, simple health care and nutrition." Next, the Hoeneckes visited a Lutheran mission hospital at Eket, Nigeria, operated by the Synodical Conference. Some members of the Wisconsin Synod were serving in key roles in this effort. A very generous donation of a Wisconsin Synod member made it possible for the hospital to be built there in 1952. It was staffed by an American doctor and nurse, together with a Nigerian staff trained by them.

The Hoeneckes noted several warnings against setting up a "full-scale hospital" in Africa because it "simply involves too much expense and a continual problem of finding adequate medical staff." Using mission money to supply full-scale hospital service "would simply provide something which the government themselves ought to be in care of." Placing emphasis on educational and medical programs supplied through the budget gradually "tends to shift the emphasis from the real spiritual purpose of the mission."[1]

By contrast, some American church-supported mission programs have become so involved in medical, educational, and social programs that time is scarcely left for word and sacrament. Others have tried to use these humanitarian self-help programs as a means of getting the mission to become self-supporting, only to find themselves eventually bogged down in financial disaster.

Returning from Nigeria, the Hoeneckes visited the famed bush hospital of Dr. Albert Schweitzer near Lambarene, Gabon, on the Ogowe River. The venture itself with its massive operation of over forty buildings, however, was in Hoenecke's estimation scarcely something after which to pattern our own undertaking.

Returning to Lumano village, the Hoeneckes were able to offer definite plans for a modest medical mission undertaking. "Basic mission philosophy," Hoenecke wrote, "frowns on setting the goals so high that the young national church cannot at some early date take it over." What was needed was a health program that would be "preventive rather than curative," also "close to the people, providing primary health care." Such a program "would encourage the utilizing of available self-care, such as trained native midwives."[2] The Kafue clinic offered exemplary service: native nurses and technicians were trained to carry on simple diagnoses, offer health education, and take care of basic medical needs and inoculations. This kind of program could also readily "offer a Christian teaching ministry," he emphasized.

The Hoeneckes noted several warnings against setting up a "full-scale hospital" in Africa.

The Hoeneckes prepared working drawings for a modest dispensary operation, including plans for a dispensary and a home housing two nurses. Missionaries William Schweppe and Robert Sawall offered assistance with the building operations, which began in 1960. The Hoeneckes returned to Africa in 1961 to help prepare for the dispensary's opening. Barbara Welch, who later served as the dispensary's first "Sister-in-Charge," had received pre-field training at the School of Tropical Medicine and Public Health in Loma Linda, California, and at the Lutheran Hospital in Eket, Nigeria, arriving shortly before the dispensary's dedication.

Missionary Sawall's service deserves special mention. Just two weeks before the dedication of the dispensary, he was confronted with a very sensitive situation. Samson, a tractor driver employed by the mission, had been killed suddenly and accidentally. When officiating at Samson's funeral services, he had to face an extremely hostile crowd of relatives. Only one who has experienced the animosity mixed with nearly violent ex-

1. Edgar H. Hoenecke, "Healing in His Wings: the Story of Medical Mission Beginnings in Central Africa, 1960–1961," 1985, p. 37–38, Wisconsin Lutheran Seminary library, Mequon, WI..

2. Ibid., 54.

pressions of grief at such an occasion can truly appreciate how difficult it is to bring comfort under such circumstances. Yet Sawall continued to carry on bravely with his work, even until the task of the building of the dispensary was finished some weeks later.

Another person who served sacrificially was nurse Barbara Welch. Medical assistant Benjamin Chindongo and dressers Zacchaeus and Alfred Mkandawire had been unable to complete final arrangements for taking over their jobs. Bravely she took on her duties. Not only did Welch survive quite well, but she even returned to the same dispensary nearly forty years later for another tour of duty! In all, thirty-four nurses have served at this dispensary, now known as the Mwembezhi Lutheran Rural Health Centre.

GUIDELINES FOR THE MEDICAL MISSION

CAAMC's members, Dr. Arthur Tacke, chairman; Mrs. Meta Hoenecke, secretary; and Dr. Heinz Hoenecke, had been selected to outline the basic philosophies, operational methods, and future hopes for the medical mission undertaking. The document they developed, called the *Medical Mission Blueprint*, expressed the philosophy of the work as the response of Christian love to a demonstrable need confronted in the mission field, to provide limited health counsel and treatment.

This response would be offered in three phases. The "immediate phase" was to provide for present needs, when most of this humanitarian activity would have to be taken care of by the mission. Then, during the "transitional phase," the African staff would gradually assume responsibilities for the work. Finally, during the "long range program," the national church would with sufficient strength be able to assume the program's support and management by itself. Complete self-management and self-support, in other words, is the "ideal." In the meantime, the emphasis on achieving indigeneity was not to be pursued as "an inflexible prescribed code."[3]

Of particular interest was that the dispensary would enlist "no help from our regular synodical mission budget," but was being inaugurated as a "venture entirely as a nonbudgetary enterprise, underwritten by the ladies and ladies' societies of our Synod." This feature has remained in effect for more than four decades. Only on a few rare occasions has the medical mission program sought emergency assistance from other agencies. Our synod's women and women's organizations have continued to supply most of the funds necessary in caring for the physical needs of as many as 60,000 people in Africa at a cost of $200,000 annually.

Missionary Theodore Sauer, Superintendent of the Mission from 1961 to 1964, was requested by the stateside Executive Committee of the Rhodesian Lutheran Church to assist in the formulation of more precise guidelines applying to the program's initial phase of operation. Of consideration was how the dispensary operation would be conducted in cooperation with the Ministry of Health of the national government and the supporting church body in America. This involved building maintenance, the cost of medication and equipment, and the salaries of African staff members in keeping with national government regulations. Indigenous principles suggested that the people who were medically treated should be taught to recognize that payment for this service should be expected, yet it became difficult and even a sore spot to expect immediate financial help beyond a mere token amount.

Our synod's women and women's organizations have continued to supply most of the funds necessary.

Specific guidelines, for example, would also be required for American personnel working in a foreign country (their qualifications, orientation, duties, and compensation); lines of responsibility between medical staff, mission personnel, and community leaders; relationship between a stateside medical mission committee and one on the field; and a system of reporting between the committees on needs, progress of the work, and the accounting of funds. A regulatory system was needed to maintain the work in an appropriate and efficient way.

The responsibility and authority for the program, however, has remained in the hands of the mission's Executive Committee through its elected or appointed representative. These essential guidelines work only when basic principles are remembered and followed. In its beginnings the dispensary was a response to demonstrable need of those for whom we had come with the gospel. By entrusting this need to qualified workers, our missionaries were able to devote attention to the ministry of the word. The answer itself was a labor of love given in response to the love received from a gracious Lord, who had given himself totally for us. To have passed by on the other side would have been unconscionable and contrary to the spirit of Christ.

"CHERCHEZ LA FEMME"

The French say *Cherchez la femme* ("Look for the woman"), to see where she has had a hand in the matter. The Bible recalls the unique qualities of women well-suited for such service: the capability of Abigail, the devotion of Mary of Bethany, the hospitality of the Shunammite, the servant-attitude of Phoebe, the benevolent spirit of Dorcas.

Providing medical assistance to 55,000 Africans, at a cost of more than $200,000 each year, does not happen by itself. Much painstaking detail goes on behind the scenes in fundraising, processing nurse candidates, managing the work itself, and helping one another bear up under the headaches and heartaches, all of which was done with little or no compensation, and too often with little recognition. "Look for the woman."

3. See WELS *Proceedings* (1965), 243.

Beginning with Mrs. Meta Hoenecke, this attitude has been carried forward many times by the women who have followed. Hoenecke completed arrangements to gain the approval and permission of the Provincial Officer of Northern Rhodesia and the Medical Officer of Rural Dispensaries. A qualified medical assistant, Benjamin Chindongo, and two dressers, Benjamin's brother Zacchaeus and Alfred Mkandawire, were hired, as well as an African nurse, Mrs. T. Mbewe, and a translator, Bessie Mulundika. Hoenecke was able to purchase dispensary equipment and furnishings at a reduced cost from the Ministry of Health. She made a courtesy call on Chief Shakumbila and Headman Shawabala, and discussed with missionary Sawall the arrangement for Christian witnessing to dispensary patients who would be awaiting treatment. A method for conducting dispensary finances was worked out with superintendent Sauer. Hoenecke and nurse Welch discussed final plans for the opening of the dispensary. Hoenecke's willingness to serve and her years of experience with public health matters helped greatly in getting things underway.

Contact women in pastoral circuits encouraged hundreds and hundreds of more women to take on the responsibility.

Our dispensary project has been blessed through the participation of many such women. Mrs. Hilda Wacker began a clinic in the Ziegler trailer before the dispensary could be opened. Helen Greve and Charlene Sawall did the same from their family doorsteps. Althea Sauer served as an additional nurse at the dispensary for nearly seven years while the Sauers lived on the Sala property. The wives of men serving on the Executive Committee for Central Africa in the United States made up the medical mission committee from the time of the program's founding until 1983. Many contact women in pastoral circuits throughout the WELS encouraged hundreds and hundreds of more women to take on the responsibility of a program that required thousands of dollars to operate each year.

The role played by Mrs. Erna Speckin deserves special attention. Dr. Tacke, the Executive Committee's initial Medical Director, needed someone to serve as Executive Secretary of this committee, to take care of the many daily details in need of attention, including recruitment and orientation of nurses, organization of contact women appointed in pastoral circuits responsible for raising funds, help with publicity, maintenance of correspondence with the nurses in the field, and more. It was a monumental task.

Mrs. Speckin served in this capacity for twenty-two years, from 1961 to 1983. She never sought attention for herself but routinely called herself "the contact woman for contact women." She took all twenty-five nurses who served at the dispensary during these years, and all those who served during her time at the mobile medical mission begun in Malawi, under her wing. She left no letter unanswered and no request ignored from "her girls." Whenever praised by others, she would say, "I have done nothing; God has done it all!" She was also the first president of the Lutheran Women's Mission Society (LWMS) of the WELS, and headed up the synod's Mission for the Visually Impaired. "I just put my total trust in the Lord that he will see it through," she said of her demanding schedule. But she also relied on her husband Herb to take care of her, transporting her wherever she needed to go, since she herself never learned to drive.

While she was closely associated with both groups, they had separate identities and spheres of service. The Central African Medical Mission (CAMM) was authorized by the Wisconsin Synod's 1957 convention to give all women in the synod the responsibility for supporting the medical mission program of Central Africa. The LWMS is a women's organization within the WELS, organized in 1964 under its own constitution and bylaws, to increase interest in and support for all missionary work in the synod. The CAMM provides financial support for medical missions, while the LWMS provides information and support for all mission work. The CAMM brings news of the medical mission, often through nurses who served in the field and returned for deputation work. Contact women organize projects for sending rolled bandages and other medical supplies. Support for CAMM also comes from LWMS circuits and individual LWMS groups.

During the development of the dispensary mission, most nurses who served were young and unmarried, probably with the assumption that they would be able as single women to cope with adjusting to the rigors and crises of life in the African bush. Over time, it has become apparent that more experienced women are also more than equal to the task. The tour of a nurse's duty in the early years was for two years of service on the field, but in later years this commitment has been extended to three years, allowing for more time to be devoted to orientation and longer continuity in their work.

Early orientation of the nurses was often haphazard. As the program developed, however, greater attention was paid to this aspect of the program. Nurses were required to complete the RN degree and expected to receive training at either Frontier Nursing School in Kentucky, Seneca College in Canada, or Mercy Ships in Texas, all of which specialize in training for primary-care circumstances. A Nurses' Scholarship Fund, established in 1990 in memory of Althea Sauer, helps cover orientation costs. A time for observation of African medical practices at the University Teaching Hospital (UTH) in Lusaka has also been included in the orientation program. A similar facility in Lilongwe, Malawi, offering field-type experience in the country itself, has proved helpful.

To say that these nurses were kept busy is an understatement. They were expected to make a complete change in lifestyle, and

to adapt to changed life circumstances greater than one may imagine. The unexpected often became the usual. They dealt with life-and-death situations that demanded courage and faith. Not always appreciated or even fully recognized is the adjustment that must be made, not only when going to a foreign country but also when returning to the United States. During the time of service in Africa, things continue changing in America. Their responsibilities in the medical field have grown tremendously, even though their importance in the missionary scheme of things is often regarded as secondary. Friends and family are thousands of miles away. Isolation, including absence even from accustomed worship and Bible class activities, adds to feelings of loneliness.

FROM "LUMANO" TO "MWEMBEZHI"

The dispensary was initially referred to as "The Lumano Lutheran Dispensary," named for the village adjoining the mission compound on the Sala Reserve. Lumano lies about forty-five miles by road west of Lusaka, Zambia's capital. Today, the first twenty miles of this road are paved, leading eventually to the Kafue National Game Park. The next twenty miles, though unpaved, are still a fairly good road. From there, the journey proceeds on a gravel road and, though improved during the 1970s as far as the Kazoka village, it remained poorly maintained.

From Kazoka, however, driving conditions become decidedly worse. Deep ruts during the rainy season often rendered the road all but impassable. After passing through the small village of Shibiyunji, conditions can become precarious, especially when crossing the Mwembezhi River on a wooden bridge that has been known to break down at crucial times. During heavy rains the river swells out of control, and one is advised to remain at the Sala station rather than trying to drive on to Lusaka. Beyond the Mwembezhi, one takes a bush road to the right for several miles more, twisting and turning to avoid the water holes. Nurses as well as missionary families can expect getting stuck several times a year.

The mission compound itself adjoins a boarding school property with a number of small teachers' homes. Initially the mission took responsibility for managing the school, but after Zambia became an independent nation in 1964, the government took over management of the school. A generator was originally used by the mission to supply electric energy for several hours a day, later augmented by the installation of a solar energy system. In 1998 an electric power line was fed into the property through the persistent work of two of our synod's Kingdom Workers.

The property itself is quite livable. The climate is semitropical, generally more comfortable than that of Wisconsin, Texas, or California. It was the favorable weather of the area that first appealed to our synod's first mission explorers. The elevation of Lumano is about 1500 feet lower than that of Lusaka, which makes it noticeably warmer than other parts of the country during September, October, and November. Things cool a bit during the rainy season.

From the outset, the health care program of the dispensary was guided by the principles emphasized by the Hoeneckes, which meant following curative as well as preventive health goals. Prevention of illness was to be accomplished by means of health education and inoculation. As the work progressed, community health workers and traditional health birth attendants were trained to participate in the program. Extensive hospital-type treatment was avoided. In emergency cases, people were transported to the Lusaka University Teaching Hospital. The medical program was encouraged to go hand in hand with a religious program through the institution of daily devotions at the dispensary conducted by a LCCA evangelist or pastor.

Curative treatment (for such ailments as malaria, cholera, malnutrition, whooping cough, diarrhea, leprosy, tuberculosis, asthma, and pneumonia) has led to preventive care. Five clinics provide inoculations of children for polio, measles, diphtheria, and tetanus, as well as antenatal care during pregnancy.

During the early days at Lumano, telephones were sometimes out of commission for months at a time, television was nonexistent, and shortwave wireless offered little beyond the BBC. Regular trips to town were needed to pick up supplies, medicines, and mail. English religious services for the mission staff were held in the homes of the missionaries living at the station. Worship in the chapel built on the mission property was also attended by the nurses and missionaries' families, even if they did not always understand the vernacular church service conducted by Solomon Bimbe, the local lay evangelist, or the national pastor who followed him.

Curative treatment has led to preventive care.

The Sawall family moved to Lusaka, chiefly so that their children could attend school there. Rev. Theodore and Hilda Kretzmann filled the Sawall vacancy in 1965. Dr. William Schweppe, who had served as a missionary for thirty-three years in Nigeria before coming to Zambia, was tragically killed in an auto accident on 17 July 1968, returning from a trip to the Southern Province. Missionary Kirby Spevacek, a seminary graduate, and his wife Audrey arrived in 1968, beginning a long and distinguished career as a missionary. They later served in Bulgaria, Albania, and among the Apaches in Arizona.

Seven nurses from America followed Barbara Welch: Kay Stuhr (1963–1965), Lois Stindt (1964–1966), Clara Mielke (1965–1967), Edith Schneider (1966–1968), June Witt (1967–1969), and into the 1970s Kathryn Bushaw (1969–1971) and Margaret Westendorf (1969–1971). They were the "pioneers" who set much of the program that would follow them. Several thousand patients a month made their way to the Lumano dispensary for primary care, and nearly a hundred little ones were brought by their mothers every week to the under-five clinics.

Dr. Paul Heise replaced Dr. Tacke as Medical Advisor on the Executive Committee. He was replaced briefly by Dr. Howard Vogel, but returned to this position again until 1972, when he was replaced by Dr. Norman Schulz. Throughout its forty years the medical mission has enjoyed the professional direction and advice of stateside medical doctors. Though busy men, they were not too busy to offer this important service freely to the Lord.

The people chiefly to be served in the Salima area were non-Christian, many of them African Muslims.

In the later 1960s "Lumano" was changed to "Mwembezhi," named for the nearby river. "Mwembezhi" means "shepherd," although in Sala territory, where no sheep exist, it might more precisely be called a "cowherd." But it was indicative that winds of change were blowing. Malawi, the country next door, was preparing for its own medical mission program to be added there.

A MOBILE MISSION IN MALAWI

The Central Africa Lutheran Mission advanced into Malawi in 1963, seven years before our medical mission began in that country. Following an extensive survey by missionaries Richard Mueller and Raymond Cox in Malawi in 1962, as well as a personal visit by Executive Committee members Arnold Mennicke and Waldemar Hoyer together with superintendent Sauer in 1963, it was decided that Mueller and Cox be sent there that same year. A mailing program from Zambia helped to locate many promising candidates in that country, beginning in the Blantyre-Limbe urban area.

In 1968 missionary Cox, attempting to extend the Malawi work toward Lilongwe in the northwest, contacted the District Commissioner, Mr. Cooper, in that area to receive permission to work there. But a law recently passed under Malawi's President Kamuzu Banda required his consent for work in places where we had not been before. On 26 March 1968, Mr. Cooper informed us that "the Lutheran Church of Central Africa may not commence or continue its activities in Lilongwe District."

This came as a shock at first, but an appeal was made by Missionary Cox together with acting superintendent Ernst H. Wendland for further consideration of this matter. The Secretary to the President asked our church to send "information about the secular, as opposed to the ecclesiastical activities of your church." Although the primary purpose of our church is to present the gospel, we are also concerned with the physical needs of people. We were then informed that since it did not appear that our church had "any secular, as opposed to ecclesiastical activities in this country," no further representations could be made to President Randa on our behalf. Further efforts were made by missionaries Cox and Janosek through personal interviews with Mr. Peters, Secretary to the President. Since President Randa was very concerned with the medical needs of his people, Peters suggested that we contact the Ministry of Health through the Private Hospital Association of Malawi (PHAM). It "just so happened" that the Permanent Secretary of PHAM, coordinator of all private medical ventures in Malawi, was Mr. Jack Lesshafft, a former member of the Lutheran Church—Missouri Synod.

Discussions continued with Mr. Lesshafft, who reacted sympathetically to our situation. It also "just so happened" that in February 1969 the Executive Committee of the Lutheran Church of Central Africa was on a visit to meet with the missionaries in Zambia and Malawi. With stateside blessings, every effort would now be made to establish a medical mission near Lake Malawi, where the German government was undertaking a large resettlement project. Before long, permission came from both governmental and private hospital authorities to do so.

Property became available on Senga Bay on Lake Malawi, near a town named Salima. A home had just been built on this beautiful freshwater lake, which could serve as residence for the program director of the medical mission. A nearby guest cottage could be rebuilt as a nurses' quarters. Missionary Theodore Kretzmann, an experienced missionary from the Sala area in Zambia where the Mwembezhi Lutheran Dispensary was located, accepted the call to serve as the missionary in charge of the program. He and his wife Hilda moved to the Salima property in early 1970. Nurse Edith Schneider, who had served as nurse at the Mwembezhi dispensary, was willing to return to Africa and take up duties at this new undertaking. The people chiefly to be served in the Salima area were non-Christian, many of them African Muslims. Here our ministry of mercy was again an opportunity for "doing good to all people."

THE SALIMA LUTHERAN MOBILE CLINIC

The medical mission program in Malawi is called a "mobile clinic" rather than a "dispensary." While the residences of the supervising missionary and the nurses were on the lakeshore property at Senga Bay, the work itself was conducted at several clinics located south of Salima. A Landrover vehicle was acquired and outfitted with needed medical supplies and equipment. Missionary Kretzmann erected small shelters, located about ten miles apart, to which people came for treatment. Many African Muslims from the Yao tribe lived in this area, and this location proved to be filled with people in great need of both spiritual care and medical attention.

Salima is about sixty miles east of Lilongwe. At about this time the Malawian government moved its capital city from Zomba to Lilongwe. President Kamuzu Banda wanted his capital located in this rich farmland region. The road from Lilongwe to Salima was dangerously narrow, following a treacherous escarpment through the Dedza Mountains much of the way. The nurses had to drive this way several times a month to get their supplies. People living in the Senga Bay area around the nurses' quarters were very poor. They had been greatly influenced by Arab slave-traders, who less than a century earlier had estab-

lished their headquarters there. Most of the slave-traders were Muslims, hence the strong Muslim influence here.

The Kretzmanns and nurse Schneider, arriving early in 1970, refurbished their lakeside residences as much as possible. Necessary arrangements with chiefs and headmen were taken care of, and in a Christmas letter Edie Schneider wrote:

> On July 29th we were ready for our first try in the bush with medicine. During the past several weeks at three regular clinic stops, we have seen over 1900 adults, also 700 children in our under-five clinics. Today we established our fourth stop near a primary school. There are twenty villages in the area so we should not lack for patients. Our day begins by leaving the compound about seven A.M. Usually people are already gathered when we arrive. The under-five clinic begins first. All children are weighed in order to guide us with the diagnosis and treatment of malnutrition. On our busiest day we saw eighty-nine children. After the children are treated we begin with the adults. This is chiefly for skin disorders, abscesses, dysentery, anemia, and eye ailments. Serious cases are brought to the hospital in Salima or Lilongwe.

Heavy rains caused the bridges to wash out on the roads leading to the clinics. Fortunately, a good road with substantial bridges was constructed a short time later, but problems with heavy rains were never completely alleviated along this lakeside property.

THE 1970S
Too Much Success?

Our Central Africa Medical Mission was now operating on two fronts: in Zambia with a centrally located dispensary at Mwembezhi, and in Malawi with a mobile medical mission operating out of Salima. The nurses coming to Zambia from the United States after Margaret Westendorf and Kathryn Bushaw were Linda Phelps (1970–1974), Linda Greve (1974–1976), Gail Nischke (1973–1978), Carolyn Schuessler (1977–1979), and Rosalind Joecks (1978–1980). Althea Sauer, wife of Missionary Theodore Sauer, who had returned to Zambia and was serving at Mwembezhi from 1970 to 1977, was a nurse by profession and provided valuable continuity to the work at the dispensary. Alfred Mkandawire continued his services as dresser, and through continued studies at Lusaka became a clinical officer. Agnes Chipatula, Effie Sakunji, and Davy Paulus served as African professional assistants at the dispensary. Clinics at Chabota and Mulonda were also visited periodically during the 1970s.

The Malawi medical mission was served by nurses Edith Schneider (1970–1972), Ruth Vatthauer (1972–1974), Darlene Boehme (1975–1976), Linda Phelps (1975–1980), and Katherine Barthels (1977–1980). Barbara Jacobs, although not a nurse, came from the States on her own to help her friend Ruth Vatthauer during her time of service. African helpers were Luther Mtalimanja, Mayvis Juwa, Ernestina Gwembere, and Ethel Kuntambila. The names of stations in the Salima area, visited regularly by Coot, Landrover, or Volkswagen *Kombi*, were Kambwili, Mzembela, Chagunda, Kapacila, and Katumba.

As is evident from the lists of nurses in both countries, many served two consecutive terms. Longer tours of duty were at times requested because of expatriate shortages or immigration difficulties. Zambia and Malawi had each recently attained freedom from colonial powers, and their newly independent governments were sensitive about letting foreigners maintain control over even basic services. During the 1970s, Zambia relocated its immigration headquarters from Lusaka to Livingstone, causing numerous mix-ups and delays in the process. One nurse's application was delayed while a government official in Zambia sought to determine the applicant's middle name. In Malawi, President Banda insisted on personally examining each application, though much of the time he was out of the country. After the Kretzmanns returned to America in 1976, the missionary vacancy at Salima became difficult to fill. His successor waited a year for his application to be approved, then served for less than a year.

We openly distributed Sunday School pamphlets, and before long several Lutheran congregations sprang up in the vicinity.

Our situation as a medical mission in Malawi was unique. We had come as a church to an area where people were desperately in need of both spiritual and physical help. We came "to do good" to them all, letting our light shine for them to see our good deeds and praise our Father in heaven. We came to express Christian love in a concrete way. But even as a Christian health agency we were warned by the government not to proselytize. The resettlement agency situated next door to us, sponsored by the German government, had been given twelve months to leave the country, all because a magazine in Germany, containing an article about "Malawi's serious malnutrition," had offended President Banda.

Yet we had come as a church. We openly distributed Sunday School pamphlets, and before long several Lutheran congregations sprang up in the vicinity, served by missionary Kretzmann, who also helped them build churches in his signature A-frame style. He also constructed an attractive chapel on the lakeside property, where worship services and Sunday School classes were conducted every Sunday for anyone who wished to come. In the later 1970s an evangelist, Mr. Kandaya, accompanied us to the clinic. He required daily treatment for diabetes, and as he mingled with people there he regularly testified to his faith. Mr. Kandaya is now Pastor Kandaya in the Lutheran Church of Central Africa.

God blessed our medical mission abundantly. All too soon, our nursing sisters were burdened with an incredible workload. The mission included five clinic areas, each of which was visited one day per week. The clinic day lasted from dawn to dusk. The routine at each place included an antenatal clinic (involving registration, taking blood pressure, testing hemoglobins, giving immunizations, microscopic urinalysis, checking for urine albumin, and evaluating nutrition status) and an under-five clinic (weighing babies, evaluating nutritional status, giving immunizations). Teaching was a major component at both clinics. Following these clinics, a general outpatient clinic was held, addressing the illnesses of the general population. Practically all the under-five patients required treatment for various illnesses. All this was included in five twelve-hour workdays per week. Following each day's clinic work came office work, restocking the mobile-clinic vehicle, and sterilization of equipment in preparation for the next day's work. One day a week was devoted to meetings of various kinds, either with staff, missionaries, or government officials. The "off-day," Sunday, was usually spent teaching Sunday School for the children on the compound, worshiping at the beautiful lakeside chapel, and taking a dip in the large, freshwater lake.

It was necessary to do more teaching of the people served, get them involved, and help them care for their own health needs.

The tireless service offered at the clinics gained a favorable recognition and credibility for our church among the people of the community. Up to three-hundred patients were being treated each day. This could certainly be regarded as a tremendous success. But our American nurses with their national assistants were being taxed beyond the limits of their capacity. The supervising missionaries were forced to tell the staff to cut back on some of the services the nurses provided. But how could they limit their service to the sick and dying?

"Primary health care" was not a recent discovery. It was necessary to do more teaching of the people served, get them involved, and help them care for their own health needs on a community basis. Already during the early, hectic days at Salima, nurses Phelps and Barthels were discussing the "barefoot doctor concept" developed in China, where villagers were being trained in basic health care. The concept was so named because the people being taught were so poor that they had no shoes.

Malawi's success during the 1970s was matched in Zambia. The same routines and clinics were followed, with the same procedures and priorities, but in Zambia they all took place each weekday. Because of this, nurses were on call twenty-four hours a day, especially because babies were often delivered at the dispensary. Overall statistics reveal the extraordinary growth experienced in the 1970s. As many as 340 people were immunized per month, or about 30,000 cases annually, including the delivery of as many as 375 babies. All occurred in that little dispensary building.

But was this kind of "success" the answer to the community's health problems? Were some of the principles initially advocated by the Hoeneckes in need of restudy? Toward the end of the 1970s and into the 1980s, certain ominous events moved the work in other directions.

THE 1980S

A "Double Whammy"?

Many recall the 1980s as peaceful and prosperous in the United States; certainly not threatening. That cannot be said about the medical missions in Zambia and Malawi. Both were struck with blows that could have seriously impeded their progress, yet both missions not only survived but thrived, and we learned valuable lessons fur the future.

Malawi was struck first. In the late 1970s, heavy rains raised Lake Malawi's water level, moving the shoreline closer to the buildings. A structure near the lake's beautiful sandy beach, used frequently by missionaries on holidays, was swept away by a violent storm. Valiant efforts were undertaken by missionary Norman Kuske and others to build a wall to protect the nurses' homes, but by 1980 conditions worsened. Dr. Jerome Brooks, who had replaced Dr. Norman Schulz as the executive committee's medical director, called an emergency meeting in October 1981 in Milwaukee to deal with this situation. Continuing in Malawi would require complete and immediate relocation of the mobile mission's headquarters and, ultimately, its entire field of operation. It was decided that an entirely new nurses' residence be constructed in Lilongwe, Malawi's capital. When the prospective buyer of the Salima property demanded immediate occupation, the committee decided to purchase a dwelling in Lilongwe and remodel it for medical mission use. It was also decided to purchase a house for the Kuskes in Lilongwe. By the end of 1981, both the Kuske family and nurses Oelke and Coffey were living in new dwellings. Although still responsible for the clinics in the Salima area, there was now the possibility of working in an area that offered far greater promise for the future.

The Malawi Medical Council met for the first time at the nurses' home in Lilongwe on 29 January 1982. The minutes of that meeting note that this was "the first meeting of the Malawi Medical Council during the rainy season for several years that was not threatened by water washing through the house during the meeting." The Malawi government now required clinics in Salima to be managed by us until their care could be assumed either by government clinics or by the Baptist mission located at Senga Bay. To maintain service to the Salima clinics meant that our nurses would have to travel sixty miles or more over hazardous roads congested with people and animals, and to stay overnight every week in quarters where the evangelist in Salima had lived. At great difficulty and inconvenience this was done, with no reduction in the nurses' workload at the clinics.

Over time, control of the Salima clinics was assumed by other agencies. The "Salima Lutheran Mobile Clinic" became the "Lutheran Mobile Clinic." New clinic sites were found fifteen miles east of Lilongwe, at Suzi and Msambo. New clinics were built under the direction of missionary Michael Hintz. With the nurses in residence at Lilongwe, lessons could be taught regularly at the Lutheran Bible Institute, a few miles east of Lilongwe. These new structures were built to serve as clinics during the week and as churches on Sundays. This decision meant that the work of the medical mission was more closely connected to the mission of the church.

Nurses in Malawi who participated in this difficult changeover during the 1980s were Nancy Oelke (1980–1982), Carol Coffey (1980–1983), Corrine Seevers (1982–1984), Beth Ebert (1983–1985), Nola Christianson (1984–1986), and Debra Kramer (1985–1988). The same general clinic routines as described previously were followed in both areas, except that those clinics developed later in the Lilongwe area could be visited more frequently.

Although news of the AIDS epidemic occurring in Central Africa was highlighted around the world, very little about AIDS was being mentioned in Malawi itself. One of the nurses recalled that even in references to medical reports it was "sort of lumped together with all the other sexually transmitted diseases." Disposable gloves were in short supply at the mobile clinics, and to this day she is "thankful for God's protection when recalling all the exposures experienced during those years over there." The same can surely be said for all our workers there.

An entirely different kind of blow hit Zambia. One must expect break-ins and robberies to occur in an underdeveloped country burdened with poverty and unemployment. But it was becoming reckless and ill-advised for us to allow our nurses at Mwembezhi to arise in the middle of the night and walk a considerable distance to the dispensary to deliver babies when gangs of robbers were known to be prowling the area. For years our people at Mwembezhi enjoyed peace and quiet, but circumstances were now changing, as nurse Kathy Knuth has described it:

> For many years the medical mission nurses were on call twenty-four hours a day. Most of the medical care at night involved obstetric needs for an average of thirty expectant mothers a month, only a few of whom actually gave birth during the night hours. After two robberies a major reassessment was begun. We concluded that our medical efforts were best directed at the majority of the clinic patients who came to us by the hundreds each day with a variety of maladies. We realized that keeping the clinic open all night, to accommodate the expectant ladies, was putting the Mwembezhi medical and mission personnel at personal risk. . . .
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> We struggled greatly with the decision to stop night operations because we knew that would preclude us, under normal circumstances, from delivering more babies. We knew that many ladies' groups in the States shared heartwarming stories involving babies born in ox-carts and by the light of kerosene lanterns. We realized that many stateside women enjoyed and felt a part of the medical mission's work by sending layettes and other baby items. And after all, we were helping in bringing God's precious gifts into this world. So it was a traumatic time for us all as we weighed the pros and cons of ending night call. We really didn't want to be known as the nurses who were responsible for ending such a long tradition. Yet it was the right decision and the Medical Mission Committee in the states concurred.
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> The transition from working around the clock to working only during daylight hours did not go as easily as one might have expected. The villagers of Lumano were the most upset, since they relied on the clinic for any and all emergency care. We met with all the village chiefs and headmen to discuss our security concerns and requested their input as how to proceed in the future. The end result of these discussions was the shift of focus from primarily curative care to a more concentrated effort on providing primary health care. Providing primary health care had long been the stated goal of the medical mission, so we really weren't doing anything all that profound or radical. Rather, we used the given circumstances to push us in a direction we were already headed.

This change in direction resulted in the training and use of traditional birth attendants in the villages, a system that eventually worked far better for all concerned. Increased security lighting was purchased for the home of the nurses, pole lighting was placed along the pathways to the dispensary, and a solar security lighting system was installed. The result was that both nurses and missionaries had better protection at night and increased availability of electrical facilities during the day.

News of the AIDS epidemic occurring in Central Africa was highlighted around the world.

Other efforts at Mwembezhi were directed at primary health care. Nurses went into the villages with community health workers, enlisted by the government and trained to teach hygiene and good health practices, perform minimal first aid treatments, and inspect wells and latrines. Nutrition classes were taught to counteract malnutrition. A closer relationship developed between dispensary and community health workers. More was needed than curative treatment at a dispensary. The problems began chiefly right in the villages. Dispensary and community could work more closely together toward the prevention of disease.

Our nurses from America during the 1980s were Charlotte Albrecht (1979–1981), Marilyn Bishop (1980–1982), Jane Monthie (1981–1983), Deborah Teuteberg (1982–1984), Carol Kasten (1983–1985), Terri Trew (1984–1986), Julie Ann Geiger (1985–1988), Katherine Knuth (1986–1989), Marianne Peterson (1988–1991), and Katherine Barthels Wendland (1989–1990), who had served previously in Malawi and who commuted periodically from Lusaka while her husband was teaching at the Lutheran Seminary.

WELS Kingdom Workers volunteers served especially at Mwembezhi, beginning in the late 1980s: Herman and Lorraine Koester (1988–1990), Daryl and Nancy Lucke (1990–1995), Gerald and Doris Schulte (1995–1997), Ed and Carol Nelson (1997), Bill Meier (1997–1998), and Ray and Joanne Solofra (1998–2001). Their faithful service as lay people was invaluable. They repaired and rebuilt property, performed secretarial work, provided transportation and protection, did electrical installation, and helped out wherever a hand was needed.

Women of the synod have supported this medical mission program without budgetary cost.

AIDS seems to have been recognized more openly in Zambia than in Malawi during the 1980s, but it was not until the next decade that steps were taken to deal more aggressively with this malady, which led to more direct cooperation between church and community on health matters.

ORGANIZATIONAL CHANGES IN AMERICA

After twenty-two years of serving as Executive Secretary of the stateside CAMMC, Mrs. Erna Speckin asked to be relieved of this position, offering to continue in an advisory capacity only. The World Board's Executive Committee for the LCCA was asked to appoint a five-woman committee to take on the duties previously taken care of by Speckin and the wives of executive committee members. Dr. Jerome Brooks was to continue as Medical Advisor. Appointed as members of the CAMMC were Mrs. Esther Moldenhauer, chairman; Mrs. Margaret Kujath, treasurer; Mrs. Isola Millett, contact woman coordinator; Miss Linda Phelps, nurse advisor; and Mrs. Jane Unke, secretary. The first meeting of this CAMMC was held on 13 March 1983. In 1993 a public relations person was added to the committee, responsible for the disbursement of materials for publicity purposes (such as films, slides, videos, display boxes, and brochures), used by contact women for their presentations to ladies groups as well as for meetings, mission rallies, schools for mission projects, and so forth.

From the beginning, women of the synod have supported this medical mission program without budgetary cost. CAMMC members receive no monetary compensation for their service, but do this only out of thankfulness to the Lord for all the mercies they have received from him, reflecting these mercies in "doing good" to others. The final responsibility for this activity rests with the members of the Executive Committee of the Lutheran Church of Central Africa (ECLCCA) of the Board for World Missions, recently renamed the Administrative Committee for Africa (ACA). According to its mission statement, the Central Africa Medical Mission "operates with the philosophy that it serves as the supportive branch to the gospel mission and affords an opportunity to reflect Christ's love and concern for the physical needs of our fellow man."

THE 1990S

Doing Good to All, and Especially to Some in Malawi

The effort to direct more attention to those "who belong to the family of believers" began quite unobtrusively in Malawi in the late 1980s, when the activity shifted from the Salima area to Lilongwe. Being closer to an area where the LCCA's Bible Institute was located, the work of our new clinics was thought of from the very beginning in terms of their use not only as medical dispensaries but also as churches. The first three nurses serving in the 1990s, Deloris Schwartz, Cindy Hains, and Kim Kortje, became very involved in the establishments of these new clinics. All three were requested to extend their tours, since there were difficulties in finding replacements during those years. At a retreat of nurses held at Senga Bay in May 1989, missionary Walter Westphal presented an essay entitled "What We Can Do to Improve the Spiritual Work of the Medical Mission in Malawi." His essay anticipated the change of emphasis that lay in the decade ahead.

In 1990 a clinic at Thunga was added to the two at Msambo and Suzi, constructed under the direction of Missionaries Peter Zietlow and Walter Westphal, located closer to the Bible Institute property. Greater emphasis was placed on teaching classes to Traditional Birth Attendants (TBAs) and Community Health Workers (CHWs). A clinic was opened at Nanjiri in 1992 but forced to close soon after because of lack of cooperation from the community, but the clinics at Msambo, Suzi, and Thunga reported a steady increase in activity, reporting nearly 30,000 cases seen in 1990. Preseminary student Patrick Magombo was called to serve all three clinics as chaplain. A three-year course of study in health was introduced into the curriculum at the Bible Institute. Negotiations between Cindy Hains, the district health officer, and fifty-five to sixty local headmen led to the opening of a fourth clinic at Mwalaulomwe in March 1994. Mwalaulomwe was to be served also as a church by Pastor Daison Mabedi, teacher at the Bible Institute.

This activity indicated the growing potential for a closer relationship between church and community, which developed especially during the next six years of the 1990s, when the Malawi Medical Mission program was served by Mr. Nicholas Laper and his wife Kerry. The Lapers arrived in 1994, the first husband and wife team in our medical missions in Africa. A closing report was received from them, describing in detail the features of their service. The following items summarized from

that report indicate the chief points that the Lapers wished to have emphasized and developed during those years:

> Providing the church/clinics established in the Lilongwe area according to the new pattern of combining church and clinic with large, eye-catching signs, showing the spiritual link that marks the Lilongwe Medical Clinic as "different" from most other humanitarian aid centers in Malawi. [our clinics, in other words, share the gospel message of Christ as a central part of their activity, combining the material help offered with the spiritual services of a Christian church with a national pastor]; . . . continuing arrangements for the teaching of health education courses for both students and wives at the Lutheran Bible Institute; . . . the expatriate staff functioning as mentors of the national staff at the clinic, guiding them in taking on greater responsibilities, encouraging a team concept between expatriates and nationals; . . . the director of the LMC becoming a member of the Malawi Mission Council, building a closer relationship between medical mission and church; . . . above all, continuing to develop Primary Healthcare initiatives [namely, provision of adequate safe water and basic sanitation; emphasizing both maternal as well as child care; teaching Christian child spacing; giving vaccines for endemic disease prevention; prevention and control, including malaria, diarrhea, AIDS or sexually transmitted diseases; offering appropriate treatment of common diseases and injuries; promotion of nutrition—for the large part, matters anticipated in the original *Medical Mission Blueprint* and in various ways carried out throughout the years both in Zambia and Malawi].
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> Special emphasis was placed on promotion of nutrition, basing this on the premise that "malnutrition continues to be the leading cause of death in children under the age of five in Malawi." Therefore, in addition to distributing food as a solution to malnutrition, a plan was developed to improve agricultural practices so that people could produce more and better nutritional foods for themselves. "Demonstration/nutrition gardens" were developed at each church site. Meeting with area and village leaders and government officials, a plan was devised that would better serve community needs. "Field Days" were arranged, when people of the area would meet with community leaders, government officials, and church leaders in an atmosphere comparable to a stateside county fair, developing community interest in an agricultural program that was of benefit to all concerned. Such get-togethers, of course, provided the LCCA-Malawi pastor and people with opportunities for evangelism.

This summarizes the medical mission program developed by the Lapers and followed in Malawi during the late 1990s. From all reports, this medical mission program was pursued with great efficiency during the late 1990s to relieve the suffering of a country riddled with poverty, malnutrition, and AIDS. With a man involved in directing the medical program on the field, missionaries were relieved of taking care of practical matters that had consumed much of their time previously.

THE 1990S

Doing Good to All, and Especially to Some in Zambia

During the 1990s, the Mwembezhi Lutheran Rural Health Center in Zambia was served by Linda Phillips (1990–1993), Gretchen Zolldan (1991–1995), Sylvia Gustavison (1995–1997), Deborah Teuteberg (1996), Joanne Halter (1996), Katherine Rishell (1997–1998), Elsie Lee Johnson (1997–2000), and Marladene Mohr (1998–2001). Leslie Mohlke, wife of Missionary Howard Mohlke, also helped out periodically.

The elite men and women of African society were mysteriously dying.

Nurses Julie Geiger, Terri Trew, Kathy Knuth, and Marianne Peterson had gone out into the neighboring villages and, together with the Churches Medical Association of Zambia (CMAZ) and the Zambian government, helped to train lay health-workers. They encouraged the use of clean water and latrines, a healthier lifestyle, and better nutrition in the villages. Under the guidance of clinical officer Alfred Mkandawire, the dispensary became the hub of this Community Health Worker program, with as many as sixteen men and women reporting to him each week on their activities and receiving instructions from him for their duties. The Trained Birth Assistants delivered between 200 and 300 babies annually in the villages. All this was done at no expense to the mission. The villages through their headmen were responsible for selecting the CHWs and the TBAs as well as for their partial support in exchange for the valuable health services provided. The ideal of the Hoeneckes, in their 1961 *Blueprint*, encouraging private health initiatives with more local participation and at lower cost to CAMM, was becoming more and more a reality.

Something else then entered the picture that would require more local participation. The elite men and women of African society were mysteriously dying during their most productive years, and urban cemeteries could no longer find space to bury all the dead. By the late 1980s, AIDS was being openly recognized in Zambia and had reached epidemic proportions. By 1993, between 600,000 and 700,000 adults were known to be HIV infected, and 140,000 orphaned children roamed the streets of Lusaka. This disaster affected our church families not only because our people were endangered by the disease but also because of the "extended family" principle. One of our African pastors was taking care of not only his own seven children but the five orphaned children of his relatives as well. Urban congregations were experiencing a funeral nearly every week.

Perhaps because President Kenneth Kaunda's son David had died of AIDS in 1986, Zambia was one of the first countries south of the Sahara to recognize the seriousness of the disease, and took aggressive steps to combat it. Strategic plans were developed by the government. The U.S. Aid Program donated millions of dollars to AIDS/Intervention efforts. In an essay delivered at a 1992 nurse's retreat, Gretchen Zolldan pointed out that the major modes of transmission of AIDS in Africa were heterosexual and perinatal (mother to child), that 50 percent of patients entering Lusaka's University Teaching Hospital were HIV positive, and that much of the problem in their midst stemmed from a continuation of native customs and traditions that did much to spread the disease.

One of the best methods of promoting AIDS prevention and care could be found in a combination of community and church activities.

Yet despite governmental efforts to organize AIDS awareness, publish informational books, and distribute condoms, the Zambia AIDS/Intervention program failed miserably. What was needed was a change of behavior, a recognition of Christian family values based on Scripture, as well as a recognition of dangerous cultural traditions of a natural religion that contributed to the rampant spread of the disease.

To assess the problem more closely, the CAMMC in 1995 sent RN Deborah Teuteberg "to determine what existing health-care services were available to our LCCA congregations throughout the country of Zambia." She visited many of the more than 100 congregations of the Lutheran Church in Zambia to determine how local congregations could reach their own people to provide help to those suffering from this modern plague. Joanne Halter, MSW, also sent by the CAMMC, followed Teuteberg, spending eight months in 1996 studying the problem of counseling those with AIDS and assessing the scope of the orphan tragedy. She visited twenty-seven of our congregations throughout Zambia, giving lectures about how a Scriptural approach was needed to deal with the problem.

Funded by the Marvin Schwan Charitable Foundation, Professor and Mrs. E. H. Wendland spent eight weeks in Zambia, also in 1996, studying how the Mwembezhi Lutheran Rural Health Centre (MLRHC) could best be employed by the entire LCCA in their struggle against this disease. Most enlightening during this visit were the interviews with national pastors and their wives, and our MLRHC leaders, especially Alfred Mkandawire. After attending the HIV/AIDS Collaborative Design Workshop in Lusaka, sponsored by U.S. AID, they reached the conclusion that one of the best methods of promoting AIDS prevention and care could be found in a combination of community and church activities such as we had at Mwembezhi.

Sylvia Gustavison, sent in 1995 to replace Gretchen Zolldan as sister-in-charge at Mwembezhi, began to arrange for training in AIDS counseling and testing, expanding on the programs previously begun in the villages by Marianne Peterson, Linda Phillips, Gretchen Zolldan, and Alfred Mkandawire. She organized an AIDS counseling workshop at Mwembezhi, making use of people from the government health department to gain more information on how to deal with the problem.

Katherine Rishell was then sent in 1997 by CAMMC, specifically to utilize the information gathered previously and to devise a plan to address the AIDS epidemic at the root of the problem, which lies in spiritual values; to offer spiritual and physical care for those who were HIV positive; and to provide spiritual comfort and physical assistance to surviving family members. In August 1998 Rishell presented a comprehensive plan to CAMMC, the LCCA, and the congregations of Zambia in a paper entitled "Health Education/AIDS Program of the Central Africa Medical Mission in collaboration with the Lutheran Church of Central Africa." The plan focused on using the experience of Community Health Workers in the training of health educators (both men and women who are members of our congregations, many of them lay leaders), national pastors, and seminary students, to create teams consisting of pastors and lay members working in tandem throughout the congregations of the LCCA to address various health concerns, including AIDS. They were then to cooperate in teaching and counseling those afflicted, offering spiritual counsel as the only solution to a disease which has no known cure, also assisting those physically who have been afflicted by this malady. Nurse Marladene Mohr was sent to Mwembezhi in 1999 with the specific assignment of dealing with the AIDS problem, developing more fully the Health Educator Program. The other nurse at the dispensary, Elsie Lee Johnson, was assigned to continue working with the usual health care programs. Mohr worked together with Alfred Mkandawire and Mr. Joseph Phiri, Johnson with Jackson Kalekwa.

Alan Siggelkow, professor of church history and Christian counseling at Wisconsin Lutheran Seminary, taught a short course at the LCCA Seminary in Chelston and spent a week at the Mwembezhi Lutheran Rural Health Centre. After spending time in the villages to come to some understanding about the way people in the community thought about HIV/AIDS, he offered guidelines concerning how to teach the basic principles of Christian counseling techniques which flow from God's word.

Training sessions for health educators have been held under Mohr's supervision at Mwembezhi, at Ndola in the Copperbelt, at Chongwe east of Lusaka, at Chipata in the Eastern Province, and in Lusaka and at the Seminary in Chelston. From these training sessions sixty-five students have graduated. Mr. Joseph Phiri continues to observe the results and keeps in touch with the graduates. Mohr reported recently concerning the working together of local congregations and Health Educators: "I'm excited to see how this has developed and recognize the desperate

need for this role to be done by our national workers. I see it as a major support for all the people of Zambia, not only for the Mwembezhi area."

Galatians 6:10 is coming to fruition in the face of new crises and opportunities. Through doing good "for all," we are doing so increasingly "for those who are of the household of faith." As our preaching of the gospel has spread into many parts of the country, we as a medical mission are serving the congregations in this country more directly, as congregational members themselves face "a demonstrable need," even a devastating need that afflicts the entire nation. The fact that we are in a position as a medical mission to deal with this need with the help and experience of nationals is the climax of many years of work, of recognizing how important it is to work directly with the people themselves, side by side, with the only means of help in the face of certain death, which is the word of God.

To deal with this problem openly and directly is not popular. People quite ready to speak to us openly about malaria, cholera, or tuberculosis are fearful of what they call "the killer disease." Yet in Zambia it has become openly recognized as a major problem by the government. With the Chunga cemetery in Lusaka employing 125 grave diggers and burying around 50 bodies a day, it has become impossible to cover up. A hospice constructed in Lusaka with funds donated from all parts of the world to the Roman Catholic Church will become the biggest hospice in the country. At least one in four young Zambians in the big cities carries the AIDS virus, and 500,000 orphans were predicted in Zambia by the year 2000.

A Health Educator (HE) program has been designed in Zambia to bring our congregations and medical mission together in combating the AIDS disaster, and to offer better health care to "the family of believers." The malady itself cannot be fought effectively alone. What is needed is a clear understanding of the cause of this malady, which lies in our own sinful nature, together with an understanding of the cultural problems associated with it. But what is also needed is certainty that our help can only come from a gracious God, who has had pity on our natural wretched condition and has sacrificed his one and only Son to save us from an eternal separation from him in hell. Our only hope lies in our partnership in the gospel, and in this partnership between medical mission and national church we can find this hope.

LET US NOT BECOME WEARY

Over forty years, the Lord has graciously sustained this work and richly blessed it. In this new millennium we can look forward to continued blessings and guidance from God. In Malawi Theodore and Sue Zuberbier have replaced the Lapers as expatriate staff administrators, and Rebekah Carey is following Marladene Mohr as nurse administrator of the Health Educator Program in Zambia. Barbara Welch, the first expatriate nurse at our Mwembezhi dispensary forty years ago, returned to administrative work there.

Our thoughts also turn to the future. The apostle Paul refers to the future in the same chapter in which he tells us to "do good to all people." He says, "Let us not become weary in doing good." Work is involved in "doing good," of course, and those who work can become weary. Ask any of the fifty-two Americans who in the past forty years have volunteered to take out years from their lives, who have left their homes and families, who traveled thousands of miles to work elsewhere, and who changed their lifestyles in order to help the sick and the underprivileged in a foreign land. Ask any of the thirty or more men and women who have freely devoted many hours out of their busy lives to offer their service to CAMMC, attending many day-long meetings and struggling with problems never encountered before. Ask the countless contact women in our synod, who through these years have seen to it that this medical undertaking was adequately supplied with medical equipment and materials, gathering financial support through mission rallies, meetings of school children, deputation presentations of returning nurses, and private donations, so that this work could be supported without additional cost to the synod. Ask the missionaries-in-charge in Africa where the work has been carried out, the church members and leaders who have lent a hand, especially the community health workers and health educators in Africa today who are now struggling against a vicious malady that has no cure. There is a danger of becoming "weary in doing good."

People quite ready to speak to us openly about malaria, cholera, or tuberculosis are fearful of what they call "the killer disease."

Medical mission work yields more failures than successes, more woeful mistakes than glorious victories. Yet one remains amazed at hearing our nurses who have worked overseas say that their service in Africa "has brought them closer to their Lord than anything else in their lives." And one hears again from those who have supported the work here at home, that in spite of its difficulties and frustrations, it has been "a rewarding experience, a tremendous privilege and a blessing."

We have certainly learned much about "partnership" during our first forty years of medical mission work, especially how important it is to do effective work in a country of another culture, as well as some of the ways in which this partnership works best. As we now work increasingly with those who belong to "the family of believers," we know we do not work alone. We know that together we have the only cure for sin and death, the precious gospel of our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ. With these precious means that our gracious Lord has placed into our hands, we can face the years that lie ahead with confidence, working with our fellow Christians in the LCCA.

This work is centered in Christ. The Wisconsin Synod's Committee on Relief, at the time of its organization many years ago, defined its reason for existence in these words: "The relief program of our synod is a demonstration, manifestation, and expression of Christian love. We are pleased to call it: Christian Love in Action." It is an expression of our love for him who gave himself totally for us, who has said to us, and will say to us on the last day, "Whatever you did for one of the least of these brothers of mine, you did it for me" (Gal 2:20; Mt 25:40).

Margaret Westendorf Wendland, who not only served at the Mwembezhi dispensary several years, but who has lived in Zambia for more than thirty years as the wife of Missionary Dr. E. R. Wendland, and who has served in the Health Unit of the American Embassy in Lusaka for over twenty years, writes: "In past years we saw progress in our work. Infant mortality was dropping. Life expectancy was rising. Diseases like leprosy and tuberculosis were losing ground. Because of HIV/AIDS, however, all this has changed. In order to deal with AIDS effectively, life-style changes are necessary. Culture, customs, ethics, and morality must be understood. This means that team-work between the Zambian and the expatriate will need to become not just a nice goal, but an absolute necessity. Habits and morals will need to be changed if lives are to be saved."

We must certainly consider these things as we look to the future. Is the problem that lies before us too big for us with our little dispensaries? Forty years ago a "demonstrable need" confronted us. Instead of a hopeless confrontation it became an opportunity "to do good." Now a dreaded disease confronts us that makes the task even more formidable. Yet the apostle Paul's words are clear: "Let us do good to all, especially to those who belong to the family of believers." Also the words, "Let us not become weary in doing good." As a Christian medical mission we can face the future as we did the past, by looking first to him, in whom alone lies our help and our strength, saying also with the apostle Paul, "I can do everything through him who gives me strength" (Phil 4:13). LOGIA

Pioneer Missionaries

Putting Merensky to the Test

Klaus Detlev Schulz

In 1854, the first Hermannsburg missionaries arrived in Durban, South Africa, on the ship *Candace*. Missionary Wilhelm Posselt from the Berlin Mission Society eagerly awaited them at the harbor and persuaded them not to continue with their original plans of sailing on to the Galla tribe (today's Oromo people) of Ethiopia, but to remain in South Africa. Thus, the Hermannsburg mission there was born. Hermannsburg missionaries stayed in the Republic and settled in the province of Natal to work among the Zulu people.

The Hermannsburg mission among the Zulu people is a fascinating story and has inspired many studies.[1] But before the arrival of the Hermannsburg missionaries, five missionaries from the Berlin Mission Society had landed in Cape Town on 17 April 1834. They started their work among the Hottentot people called the Korunna and in 1847 expanded into Natal among the Zulu tribe. To this was soon added the region of the Basuto tribe in the Transvaal Republic of the Boers. It was there that Alexander Merensky (1837–1918) lived and worked as a missionary. Today, many hail David Livingstone of the London Mission Society as the greatest missionary of modern history, but that accolade may be challenged. For in terms of achievement and influence in southern Africa, Alexander Merensky was second to none, not even to Livingstone. His work was wide-ranging, including accomplishments in the research of flora and fauna, in linguistics and ethnology, in politics and medicine; but above all, Merensky was active in theology and missiology.

Pioneering missionaries such as Merensky did not confine their work to one area. As an area director for the mission society and a prolific writer who took to heart the Berlin Mission Society's advice of submitting frequent reports, Merensky became a leader for people from all walks of life. For this reason, Merensky caught the attention of scholars in various fields, as well as government officials, tribal chiefs, and German leaders. They all tapped into his knowledge of the southern African world and appreciated him as a valuable source of information. However, the complexity of the milieu Merensky lived and worked in often made him appear to be on the opposing side to some, to the detriment of his own reputation.

Unfortunately, with the passage of time familiarity with Merensky has waned, something that is true of many other pioneer missionaries. His German works have not been translated and resources on him in English are limited and few. Nonetheless, however small, interest in Merensky and his work remains, as small Internet articles show.[2] Who was Alexander Merensky and how should missiologists assess his life and contributions? How should Christians and churches that have emerged from his work evaluate him and what he did? Was he merely one more in a long line of paternalists, or are his contributions lasting and enduring?

GLIMPSES INTO THE BERLIN SOCIETY

Merensky was associated with the Berlin Society,[3] whose roots go back to Pietism, as was the case for many mission societies both in England and Germany. In the early nineteenth century the regions of Berlin, Pomerania, and Silesia teemed with inspiring personalities and preachers such as the Baron Hans Ernst von Kottwitz, Daniel Friedrich Ernst Schleiermacher, and Johannes Evangelista Gossner. Such individuals raised the level of interest for missions within German society when that society was generally ambivalent toward mission work. Another leading figure in Berlin was Johannes Jänicke, who

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1. For example, the large 150th anniversary edition volume, Ernst-August Lüdemann, ed., *Vision: Gemeinde Weltweit: 150 Jahre Hermannsburger Mission und Ev.-luth. Missionswerk in Niedersachsen* (Hermannsburg: Verlag der Missionshandlung, 2000).
2. Ulrich van der Heyden, who has published widely on Merensky's life and work, is the foremost authority on Merensky. However, Van der Heyden focuses more on Merensky's ethnological research and involvement in colonialism and much less on his theological and missiological principles and approaches. Van der Heyden edited and published Alexander Merensky's autobiography, *Erinnerungen aus dem Missionsleben in Transvaal, 1859–1882* (Berlin: Edition Ost, 1996). In it a reader will find an excellent introduction as well as a list of publications on Merensky. One may see also Ulrich van der Heyden, "Merensky, Alexander," in *Evangelical Dictionary of World Missions*, ed. A. Scott Moreau et al. (Grand Rapids: Baker Books, 2000); Gerald H. Anderson, *Biographical Dictionary of Christian Missions* (New York: Macmillan Reference USA, 1998); Ernst Dammann, "Merensky, Alexander," in *Kirchenlexikon*, ed. Sigrid and Karl-Wolfgang Tröger (München: Beck, 1990); "Botshabelo History," http://middelburgsa.co.za/botshabelo/history.htm (accessed 23 August 2007).
3. One may see here Hellmut Lehmann, *150 Jahre Berliner Mission* (Erlangen: Verlag der Ev.-Luth. Mission, 1974), 9–22; and Wilhelm Oehler, *Geschichte der Deutschen Evangelischen Mission* (Baden-Baden: Wilhelm Fehrholz, 1949), 1:193–203.

had started the mission school from which came such famous missionaries as Karl Friedrich August Gutzlaff (to China) and Carl T. E. Rhenius (to India). The new interest in missions accompanied a rekindling of the Reformation spirit, and a return to its teachings and life. In particular, the tercentennial anniversary of Luther's Ninety-Five Theses in 1817 spurred on a return to Luther's works. The influence of Claus Harms of Kiel, who posted his own theses against rationalism, is part of this resurgent spirit. In the mid-nineteenth century, neo-Lutheran missions began under such influential figures as Karl Graul, Ludwig Harms, and Wilhem Löhe.

But one of the first societies with a truly Lutheran character was the Berlin Society. Wealthy sponsors from the nobility and government leadership in the vicinity of Berlin responded to the call for mission work by establishing the mission society. At the founding of the society on 29 February 1824 the court preacher D. F. A. Strauß, as well as two theologians, Friedrich A. G. Tholuck and Johann A. W. Neander, served on the board that was comprised by a majority of lay members.

The Berlin Society maintained good relations with Prussian government officials. This is noteworthy since the Lutheran separatist movement (the "Old Lutherans" of Breslau under Johann G. Scheibel, Georg P. E. Huschke, and Henrik Steffens) had difficulty accepting the union between Lutherans and Reformed inaugurated in 1817 by the Prussian king, Friedrich Wilhelm III. The Berlin Society's desire to remain a Lutheran mission society within a unionistic church raised eyebrows, and its Lutheran pedigree was frequently called into doubt. The executive director and board members had a difficult time convincing some of their commitment to the Lutheran faith. As a result, many missionary candidates left the society to join the Old Lutherans of Breslau.

A young student at the time, Merensky, too, contemplated such a move, but remained with the society after the executive director, Johann Christian Wallmann, assured him that the society would stay true to the Lutheran cause. Merensky's Lutheran convictions should not be doubted. The Berlin Society intentionally pursued a Lutheran character in its mission fields in South Africa, Tanzania, and China, although not with quite the same fervor as the Breslau Lutherans or the later Leipzig Mission Society. Theodor Wangemann, the executive director of the Berlin Society from 1865 to 1894 (who has left us a beautiful documentary of his two journeys to South Africa), leveled outspoken criticism against unionism.[4] The fact that the missionary societies were independent of the churches at that time enabled them to pursue their own theological character. In the Berlin Society, the main texts promoted by and used by all missionaries were — next to the Bible itself — Luther's Small Catechism and the unaltered Augsburg Confession.[5]

4. Hermann Theodor Wangemann, *Ein Reise-Jahr in Süd-Afrika; ausführliches Tagebuch über eine in den Jahren 1866 und 1867 ausgeführte Inspektionsreise durch die Missions-Stationen der Berliner Missions-Gesellschaft* (Berlin: Verlag des Missionshauses, 1868).
5. Lehmann, *Berliner Mission*, 41–45; Oehler, *Geschichte*, 197.

ALEXANDER MERENSKY

An article posted on the website of the Christian History Institute in South Africa includes the following information on Alexander Merensky:

> The South African tour guide pointed toward a stone fort. "That fort was built by Alexander Merensky of the Berlin Mission Society to guard the mission station you see in front of you. Fort Wilhelm, they called it, after the Prussian King, but the station was known as Botshabelo, meaning 'refuge.'"
>
> "Who was Alexander Merensky?" asked one of the tourists. "And why did he build a fort here?" She was intrigued by the medieval-looking defense structure.
>
> "Merensky was a German missionary," answered the tour guide; and he gave further details. The tourist was so interested, she did some digging on her own.
>
> Alexander Merensky, she found, was born on this day, June 8, 1837, in Panten, Germany. His happy childhood years in a forest home came to an abrupt end when his father died. Alexander found himself trained in schools for orphans.
>
> A revival movement in Germany brought Gustav Knak into young Alexander's life. Knak helped Alexander discover a living faith in Christ. Immediately the young man formed a desire to become a missionary, to tell others about the Gospel.
>
> He was just twenty-one-years-old when the Berlin Mission Society sent him to colonial South Africa in company with another young missionary, Heinrich Grutzner. At first the two attempted to work among the Zulus of Natal and then in Swaziland. When those efforts failed, largely because of native opposition, Alexander bought a farm in Transvaal from Jan Abraham Joubert and founded Botshabelo.[6]

Merensky's mission station was seventy kilometers south of the first Berlin mission society outpost in that area, Gerlachshoop, and located between Lydenburg and Pretoria, or in the triangle formed by the modern cities of Middelburg, Lydenburg, and Pietersberg, the original land of the Basuto tribe. Gerlachshoop was founded in 1860 by Grützner and Merensky among the Bakopa subtribe of the Basuto. The Bakopa chief, Maleo, was at first favorably disposed towards the German missionaries. However, when he observed the numbers of converts that flocked around Grützner and the missionary's growing popularity, Maleo feared that his influence as chief was diminishing. He responded by persecution of the baptized and of candidates for baptism. He forbade them to attend worship services and ordered them to work on Sundays. Persecution similarly was unleashed against converts of the Bapedi people, the subtribe of the Basuto among whom Merensky worked at his mission station

6. Christian History Institute in South Africa, "Botshabelo," http://www.encounter.co.za/article/17.html (accessed 23 August 2007).

at Khalatlolu (founded 1861).[7] Merensky's Bapedi Christians incurred the wrath of their chief Sekhukhune and suffered such things as being flogged by fellow tribesmen until they renounced their Christian faith or being given poisoned beer to drink.

The severity of the situation led Merensky to seek escape from Sekhukhune for himself and his flock. On the rainy night of 23 November 1864 Merensky, his wife, and infant child stole away along with ninety-six Christians across the swollen Steelport River to take temporary shelter in Lydenburg. On 5 February 1865 Merensky and his refugees settled on a newly purchased farm that lay beyond Chief Sekhukhune's control, but which was never completely safe from Sekhukhune's reach.

> It was called "refuge" because a local native chief named Sekhukhune persecuted Bapedi people who converted to Christianity. Sekhukhune had some justification for this policy: missionaries too often were agents of imperialism. Too often, they saw it as their responsibility to subject the natives to the Germans (or English or French as the case might be). Alexander was a strong advocate of colonial missions. Shame to say, some missionaries encouraged wars. An African chief could only view Fort Wilhelm as undermining his personal authority.[8]

Two groups of Christians lived on Botshabelo, one from the Bakopa tribe (originally from the mission station Gerlachshoop) and the other from the Bapedi tribe (originally from the mission station Khalatlolu). In fact, two important individuals, a son of chief Maleo and Dinkoanyane, a brother of Chief Sekhukhune, settled at Botshabelo and served as important leaders in the community.

> Botshabelo became a self-sustaining center for as many as 3,000–4,000 Christians. The Christians raised their own food, offered medical services to the region, constructed a water mill, taught carpentry and wagon making, and opened a seminary for black pastors (and evangelists). This model village was highly praised.[9]

All the inhabitants of Botshabelo were Christians, and over the years, many more Africans fled paganism to take refuge there. They all willingly arranged their communal life under a Christian order that their spiritual father, Merensky, established and imposed on them, but it was a life for which fellow Christians held oversight and to which they willingly submitted themselves. Together the Christian community worked the fields and surrendered one-tenth of the harvest to support of the work to further God's kingdom.[10]

Christians on Botshabelo came to adopt a European lifestyle in appearance and behavior. It is not clear how much they changed their style voluntarily, or whether it was strongly encouraged by Merensky. However, clothes made of linen soon replaced those made of hides, the plastering of bodies with red mud ceased, and women abandoned their distinctive hairstyle and took to covering their heads with a cloth.[11]

Interest in missions accompanied a rekindling of the Reformation spirit.

Botshabelo's spiritual life ran on a strict regimen.[12] Baptisms and weddings were conducted for certain monetary contributions, a custom that still exists today. The church bell rang frequently throughout the day calling to prayers and work. Dancing and drinking were prohibited. The rites of burial, marriage, and birth were carefully monitored to eliminate African traditions deemed superstitious or incongruent with Christianity. Polygamous marriages, the marriage dowry paid with cattle, and the arrangement of marriages at an early age had no place in Botshabelo. Catechumens who were caught in such sins as theft were excluded from the catechumenate for a time before they could resume classes. Severe departures from God's law were punished with exclusion from the worshipping community. Public sinners were allowed back into the community only after a public confession and absolution at which the sin was announced before all gathered worshippers. Two services were held every Sunday, one in the morning and one in the afternoon. During the week, the missionaries and helpers held Bible studies.

The sacrament of baptism shaped the life of the community. It occurred frequently that the newly baptized were given new biblical names if they so desired. All candidates for baptism were rigorously instructed in the Christian faith and Luther's Small Catechism. Baptisms were attended only by the baptized. Afterward, when the normal service resumed, the church bell would ring to indicate that the pagan visitors and catechumens were allowed to enter the church.

The traditional liturgy was followed, with hymns and chorales from Germany, often sung by a choir in four voices.[13] Sermons were preached according to the traditional pericopal series and worship followed the church year calendar. Church festivals were celebrated with great enthusiasm and splendor. At Christmas, the nativity set and Christmas tree were on display and the children's choir sang Christmas carols, some in Ger-

7. When Chief Sekhukhune was defeated by English forces in 1879 at his own stronghold, Mosheso, Merensky visited Khalatlolu and Gerlachshoop (Merensky, *Erinnerungen*, 431).
8. Lehmann, *Berliner Mission*, 64.
9. Ibid.
10. Ibid., 65.
11. Merensky, *Erinnerungen*, 374.
12. See Merensky's elaborate description, *Erinnerungen*, 314–335.
13. Merensky, *Erinnerungen*, 448.

man such as "O du fröhliche" and "Stille Nacht." The Lord's Supper was celebrated four or five times in the year with traditional ordinaries, such as the preface, antiphon, the prayer, and the *Sanctus*. Confession and absolution always preceded the meal. Those who wished to attend the Lord's Supper met with the pastor prior to the service to express their intention to partake of the sacrament. On those occasions, when the number of attendees went into the hundreds, the practice of meeting the pastor prior to the Communion service posed a challenge to the missionaries.

Candidates for baptism were rigorously instructed in the Christian faith and Luther's Small Catechism.

In sum, the worship life on Botshabelo was not much different from that which the missionaries were used to celebrating in Germany, according to Merensky's own estimate.[14] That may seem odd in view of Merensky's overall respect for Basuto culture and his concern for retaining traditional elements of tribal life that pertained to home, garden, and legal system, not to mention his concern to guard them against European influence.

That "influence" did come in the form of war. While the Boers and the English fought for control of South Africa, Alexander Merensky and other missionaries languished in prison camps. World War I dealt a staggering blow to the German mission, because funds dried up. Merensky returned to Berlin. He no longer argued for strong colonial missions. Instead, he encouraged African rights. The German mission did not finally pull out of South Africa until 1962, and Christians continued to live on the farm into the 1970s. But eventually the once-flourishing mission station dwindled and became a museum for tourists to visit.

Other challenges confronted the mission from the outside. A controversy once arose over the heavy tax imposed on Botshabelo by the Boers in whose territory Botshabelo was located. One of the Christian chiefs, Johannes Dinkoanyane, sided with his former foe, Chief Sekhukhune, and the Bapedi defeated the Boers and the Swazi in 1876. This in turn brought in the English, who tried to seize the Transvaal Republic and make it their own colony. During this period, Botshabelo received visits from dignitaries from both of the opposing sides. Under the leadership of the famous Paul Kruger, the English invasion was repelled and in 1881 the Republic of Transvaal was returned to the hands of the Boers.[15] Indeed, Botshabelo's history is part of South Africa's history. The mission work of Merensky was conducted amidst the battle between the English and the Boers of 1878. As a trained medical doctor, Merensky was enlisted by the Boers to tend their wounded soldiers.[16] Although Merensky and Botshabelo maintained neutrality, his loyalty was with the English. The erratic and discriminatory laws imposed on the African population by the Boers in the Transvaal Republic, as well as the constant threat of an invasion by African tribes such as the Matabele, made Merensky yearn for peace and order, something he thought the English could best bring.[17]

Merensky returned to Germany in 1882. Thus, he did not experience first-hand the disastrous impact of the Boer War (1900–1903) on the German mission in South Africa, nor the imprisonment of German missionaries by the English. However, Merensky left us with his record of his experiences during his years on the mission field in his *Erinnerungen aus dem Missionsleben in Transvaal, 1859–1882*. These memories trace his relations with the Boers and the English. In them we also gain insight into the everyday life on Botshabelo and how he and his Christians formed their life as a community, and how they had to juggle their communal existence among so many political influences. This book was popular in Germany when there was interest and discussion about attaining colonies in Africa.

In Germany, Merensky contributed to the discussions about colonial expansionism in Africa and his expertise on Africa was widely requested, although it was perhaps abused by colonial enthusiasts to a degree. Thus, his postmissionary period casts a shadow over his otherwise laudable policies and thinking during his period as missionary in Africa. As a missionary, he stood clearly on the side of his African people against the colonial interests of the English and Boers along with their proslavery and segregationist policies. For example, many servants fled their Boer masters to take refuge on Botshabelo. When their owners came to claim them, Merensky confronted them and refused to hand these servants over.[18] It is true that on occasion Merensky also served as advisor to the Boers and British, something which may have been interpreted as procolonial in the eyes of his fellow African Christians and posterity. He once had a private audience with Paul Kruger. But we would infer too much by saying that Merensky was the pawn of any regime. One of Merensky's goals as missionary was to be the spokesperson of his African Christians. He studied their language and the culture with great interest,[19] as was also required in bylaw 19 of the Berlin Mission Society, and he pleaded for their independence from the outside control of imperialism.

In his later years, he again leveled strong criticism against the colonial policies and practices of Europe in general and of Germany in particular. Even so, as all pioneer missionaries should know, their very presence and their teachings inevitably add a political dimension to their work. Often missionaries, and not

14. Ibid.
15. Ibid., 410 ff. and 465 ff.; Oehler, *Geschichte*, 274 and 278–279.
16. Merensky, *Erinnerungen*, 491.
17. Ibid., 466–467.
18. Ibid., 317.
19. Ibid., 145.

only those in Africa, despite their personal convictions, would become assistants to colonial authorities and become thereby mistakenly understood as "political personalities." Perhaps Merensky's Lutheran roots, particularly the two-kingdom doctrine, instilled in him an obedience to authorities. This made him no radical "liberator" of the African. Instead, in a far more modest fashion, he spoke out against unrighteousness with Christian love and a humane concern for his neighbor.[20] The Boers tolerated the German missionaries (unlike the English missionaries), but those policies could easily change, leading to eviction, and even in some cases, when the Boers suspected treachery, to execution.

Paternalistic tendencies obviously were part of Merensky's work, as manifested in his prohibition of marriages between Europeans and African women. Merensky would not dine with members of his church, arguing that he would not like to embarrass his Africans with customs with which they were unfamiliar.

PRESENT REVIEWS OF PIONEER MISSIONARIES

Why should we bother to unearth and examine a missionary's life of so long ago when what matters is the future? Contemporary mission work does well to listen to the past and learn from it. Every church in Africa and all over the world is indebted to the work of individuals who felt a calling to leave their own country for a culture and a language unknown to them. It was a risky venture that entailed hardships and setbacks, and many paid dearly for it. Merensky belongs in the company of well-known mission figures before and during his time: Livingstone, John Smith Moffat, William Shaw, Johannes van der Kemp, and even the first of them all, the Moravian Georg Schmidt of Gnadenthal. They all enjoyed fame during their lifetime. Much attention was given to pioneer missionaries, especially in their countries of origin. They were celebrated as heroes. The books recording their experiences on the mission field became best sellers, and their lectures were popular and well attended. But that was a century and more ago, and much of the contribution of past missionaries has been transformed and merged into the life of independent churches, which look upon their founders with mixed feelings.

An important retrospection on the past is in the film *God Bless Africa* (1996). This "historic three-part series" looks critically at the role and work of Christian missionaries in southern Africa over the last two hundred years.[21] This video includes comments by famous indigenous South African theologians, professors, and church leaders of various denominations. None dismissed the work of the missionaries—including that of Merensky. Rather, as Desmond Tutu conceded, what matters is that the gospel was brought to Africa; a liberating message that freed people from their spiritual captivity was the missionaries' main legacy.

The two-kingdom doctrine instilled in him an obedience to authorities.

However, the way mission work was conducted caused concern among today's church leaders in various ways. Part of the problem was that pioneer missionaries came from a surging industrialized Europe, where the Enlightenment had gained a foothold. As a result, the Victorian or Enlightenment view of life tended to shape the missionaries' mind. They thought that they brought something new and better into a religious context that many rejected entirely. As a result, the traditional understanding of god and religion among the Xhosa, Zulus, or Tswana mattered little in the missionaries' own religious discourse with the African people. Ancestor worship was declared diabolic and evil; polygamous marriages were denounced. The missionaries considered their hierarchical structures to be best and many abused their authority. The most notorious example is that of Dr. August Hardeland of the Hermannsburg Mission among the Zulu people.[22] There seemed little need for a critical analysis of their own attitudes and work.

In *God Bless Africa*, the Trappists of Marianhill are highlighted as an example of missionaries who failed to question critically their own importation of Italian and European saints to Africa, something that was puzzling to the African mind. To the Africans, this was perceived as a European version of African ancestor worship. Similar confusion surrounded the qualities of the African gods. Were these not in some ways identical to those of the Christian creator God, who as the Father of Jesus Christ displays similar qualities like patience, forgiveness, and morality as that of the African gods? What the video reveals is that South African leaders today have an ambivalent relationship to the missionaries of the past: sometimes they are scorned as paternalistic and sometimes their legacy is praised.

To be sure, paternalism can be found in every ministry and the missionaries did not avoid it, either. Their personal opinions penetrated morality, lifestyle, and the ordering of life. At Botshabelo the bell was used not so much to call the surrounding villagers to church, as to regulate their daily life into periods of work. Missionaries like Merensky thought that work and toil belonged to the essence of postlapsarian humanity, and that idleness was sinful. Morality and lifestyle had to change for all inhabitants and occupants on mission stations. It became clear that new converts were to change outwardly both in terms

20. Ibid., 373. See also the opening comments by Van der Heyden, pp. 8–13.

21. The film was shown on television in South Africa, produced by Mark Newman, and distributed by the Film Resource Unit, Johannesburg, 2000.

22. Hardeland was known to wield the whip freely on the Zulu (Oehler, *Geschichte*, 272).

of morality, lifestyle, and appearance. African, first-generation Christians, were to become "European" Christians and were often given German or English names, were married and confirmed in suits and white dresses, and trained to eat with knife and fork. But what is biblical and what was merely European? The distinctions were not plain to many African converts. The education they were given, usually very extensive, contributed little to clarify that distinction.

Pioneer missionaries, especially Lutheran missionaries, were also extremely subservient to the political regimes and its rulers, with an almost passive acceptance of the status quo, even if wrongs and abuses of human values were apparent. John Colenso (1814–1883), who attempted to expose and rectify the injustices inflicted upon the Zulus of Natal by the British in the late nineteenth century, was a solitary voice within the Anglican church. But he paid dearly for his criticisms by suffering excommunication from the Anglican Church.[23] Germans were the only missionaries well received by the Boers, because they were known for their loyalty to government authorities. Ordinarily, the Boers closed their borders to missionaries, especially to those of the London Mission Society. In English territories, too, missionaries such as those at the Natal Hermannsburg mission were welcomed in the hope of breaking down the hostility of the Zulus with the gospel.

Alexander Merensky is certainly part of all of this. However, about him we need to ask, what was the degree of his paternalism? No pioneer missionary was his equal in attitude and approach to the Africans. As Ulrich van der Heyden stated, Merensky contributed towards the overall appreciation of Africa and its people among the Germans. Merensky wrote on the flora and fauna, the civilization and geography of Africa, and with a passion and an interest in preserving its cultural and social heritage over against German expansionism and colonial oppression. Merensky was truly open to and fascinated by what his region of Africa offered. He made great use of his inquisitiveness by traveling frequently into unexplored territories of the region.

From a strategic perspective, the concept of the mission station seems to be outdated, at least a mission station of the proportions of a Botshabelo. Since Donald McGavran's criticisms of mission stations in the 1960s, missiologists have become critical of such practices that extract a few people from their kin and tribe to form a new community. We are told that this is why Christians on mission stations lost their missionary zeal, developed a sense of elitism, and selfishly enjoyed the living conditions on the station. That may not have been exactly the case at Botshabelo, which had to serve as a refuge for many reasons; moreover, Merensky frequently praised the mission-mindedness of his people. During the era of pioneer missionaries, mission stations were the norm of all missionary work. Today, that tradition no longer serves, especially since the missionary of today has a different job description than the pioneers. Many mission stations became flourishing communities and centers for trade, only to lose significance and to dwindle. Botshabelo has changed from a mission center to a tourist attraction. Enhanhleni in KwaZulu, where this author spent his childhood among the Zulu people, has also lost much of its former attraction.

As we look ahead, we should ask, what strategy should replace that of the pioneer missionaries? Since most missionaries rarely engage in pioneer work of word and sacrament ministry, and since baptism no longer draws the great divide between first- and second-generation Christians as it used to in many parts of the world, there seems little interest in establishing centers in which new converts can congregate, other than a church building on Sundays.

Merensky certainly is emblematic of the pioneer age. Much of what he did should perhaps be listed under the rubric of "forgotten paternalism," but surely other elements are part of his living and ongoing legacy. As Bishop Tutu has said so clearly, the bottom line is that the gospel was brought to people and they were baptized into life in Christ. That in itself makes the work of these pioneer missionaries worthy. Furthermore, the conditions under which they labored were least favorable. Whatever the "baggage" accompanying missionaries of the past should not cause a barrier between a young church and its founding fathers. To use H. Richard Niebuhr's categories, the gospel does indeed have a transcultural element to it that withstands context, worldview, and the culture of any people. This is what Merensky ultimately thought. At the same time, the issue of paternalism comes in where the gospel is brought to others in an incarnated form, in the form of a person such as Merensky. Merensky was a living being, a product of a certain age and time, and with that he brought to the Bapedi not only a gospel of forgiveness, but also his idiosyncrasies, habits, and ideas. It was as difficult to strip the gospel proclamation from Merensky as it is with every person.

However, Lutherans, more than any others, know and understand the "incarnated" representation of the gospel through a true living human being. It was so with the prophets. It was so uniquely with Christ, and with the apostles. It is so also with the pioneer missionaries, and it is so with every preacher. Unfortunately, to discern the lasting contributions of missionaries of the past is almost an impossible task. Yet, missiology does precisely that. It raises important questions such as, what are the transcultural aspects of the gospel and what are those that go along with the person who brings it? Missiology is a discipline of discernment and fair assessment. Merensky and all those fathers of his time deserve such a treatment. May all churches of Africa that have emerged from the work of pioneer missionaries find such a missiological and hermeneutical perspective. LOGIA

23. Other factors such as Colenso's understanding that the Bible was not the literal word of God may have also led to his excommunication (Jeff Guy, *The Heretic: A Study of the Life of John William Colenso, 1814–1883* [Johannesburg: Ravan Press; Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal Press, 1983]).

Interview of Andrew Elisa for Logia

Daniel Preus

Daniel Preus: How and why did you become a Lutheran pastor? What was the path you followed?

Andrew Elisa: My path to Lutheranism started in June 1993 when I was flying back to Khartoum after attending a two-week meeting of the World Council of Churches in France. The thoughts and questions that came to my mind were about the church, its teachings, and why should a church be church in name and not in practice? At that time I was a member of the Anglican Church in the Sudan known as the Episcopal Church of the Sudan. The challenges, troubles, and political unrest that surrounded the church at that time gave rise to my growing thoughts to consider a church where proper teaching can be found and practiced. In going through different thoughts and ideas, the history of the Reformation and Martin Luther that I learned in high school kept coming to my mind. When I arrived in Khartoum and proceeded to Juba, I said to myself that something must be done, and that a Lutheran church in the Sudan should be established, even though I had no idea of the distinction between liberal and confessional Lutherans. At that time serious political, tribal, and ungodly practices prevailed in the Episcopal Church of the Sudan, and to be a Christian and a member of that church meant accepting all those behaviors. Six months after my return to the Sudan, after high-level consultations and discussions with friends as well as some senior government officials, I made public my decision to establish a Lutheran Church in the Sudan. On 23 November 1993 the Lutheran Church was born in the Sudan.

From that point, I found myself leading church services on Sundays, teaching Sunday school, preparing confirmation and baptism classes, and listening to the problems of my congregants. Early in 1994, I flew to Nairobi to visit with our sister church in Kenya, searching for knowledge about Lutheranism and materials that could be used to expand our knowledge in the newly created faith. On a Sunday morning, I visited Uhuru Highway Parish, a church in the center of Nairobi, headed by a Finnish missionary, the Rev. Dr. Anssi Simojoki. When I introduced myself to him and told him what had brought me to Kenya, he was very excited to hear that Lutheranism had made its way into the Sudan. At that same time, the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Kenya (ELCK) was receiving delegates for the first confessional Lutheran conference organized by Matongo Lutheran Theological College at Kissi, a district where the ELCK headquarters was located. The evening of my meeting with Dr. Simojoki also marked meetings with several delegates coming for the conference, including the Rev. Dr. Robert Preus, then chairman of the Lutheran Heritage Foundation (LHF), a newly founded organization whose purpose was to translate and publish confessional Lutheran books. The meeting with Dr. Preus established a link between the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Sudan (ELCS) and LHF in which I asked him to supply ELCS with confessional Lutheran materials. This LHF did, sending us five catechisms and a Book of Concord.

These books brought new life into ELCS as work began to expand, congregations increased in number, and the demand for pastors to take care of God's flock began to arise. As the church in Sudan continued to grow, and translation work was in progress, LHF offered me a scholarship that brought me to Concordia Theological Seminary, Fort Wayne, for training. After the completion of the year's course, a discussion was held between ELCS, LHF, and A. L. Barry, then President of the Lutheran Church — Missouri Synod (LCMS), to ordain me early so that I could take care of the flock in the Sudan. The ordination was organized by the ELCS and LHF in consultation with the LCMS Board for Missions, and it took place on 29 August 1999. There ELCS got the first Lutheran pastor in the person of me, Andrew Mbugo Elisa. As all this was happening, a real desire was at work in people who wanted to become Lutherans and accept the basic Lutheran teachings that were taught from the catechism and the Book of Concord.

Preus: Could you comment on the influence Luther's Small Catechism had in your decision to become a Lutheran pastor and in the earlier growth of the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Sudan?

Elisa: The influence of Luther's Small Catechism on my life and the life of ELCS is ongoing. Everyday I see new things in the catechism. Every time I read the catechism I discover life in Jesus and the promise of salvation granted to all those who believe in him by faith alone. The catechism is not just a book, but

Andrew Mbugo Elisa is the Bishop of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Sudan. Daniel Preus is the first Vice President of the LCMS, and President of the Luther Academy.

a teacher, a guide to the Bible, a consultant on issues of faith, and a handbook for Christians to understand their faith in the risen Lord, as well as a source of knowledge in all the six chief parts written by Dr. Luther. In the early days of our church's growth, as is the case today, studying the catechism is a program that happens in all our congregations. Wherever I visit and teach people they ask me the question, "Where did you get this book? How is it that we have grown old and never came across it before?" When the catechism is translated into people's languages or dialects, it is inspiring and refreshing to the faithful. In this way, the catechism has had and continues to have a real influence on my life, my family, and the members of ELCS.

Preus: Do you have enough pastors to serve your congregations? How are your pastors trained?

Elisa: The ELCS has only a few pastors to serve over one-hundred congregations. Three of these pastors were trained outside the Sudan, and nine studied in our seminary called Concordia Lutheran Institute for the Holy Ministry. The seminary does not have its own professors but depends on visiting friends who are either professors or pastors who come and teach intensive courses. Our primary desire and objective right now is to train more pastors for ELCS, and the training of deacons and deaconesses. Besides the training of pastors, the church intends to continue providing adequate training opportunities for lay people who are in fact the jewel of the church as they lead all the congregations in the absence of ordained pastors. One hundred such lay evangelists have been trained in basic Lutheran doctrines, how to lead worship on Sunday, prepare confirmation and baptism classes, and coordinate things with the pastors. A lack of resources has forced ELCS to discontinue its training, as this requires much effort, time, and materials.

Preus: What are the major challenges facing your church body?

Elisa: Our major challenge right now is lack of manpower in all fields, pastors, trained youth leaders, women workers, Sunday school teachers, and staff to manage the church administration. The existence of ELCS will be based on how we train our pastors, organize our offices, and prepare the congregations to understand Lutheranism in the right doctrine. The other challenge we face is the misleading information coming from Sudanese immigrants in the United States who give a false message to people, presenting the situation based on a materialistic background. This has created problems for our church as we face suffering together with the rest of the sons and daughters of our country. Today the immigrants have convinced a good number of people that Lutheranism in the United States is money, while the ELCS is teaching people that Lutheranism is confession and doctrine. To overcome this, we need more training for our pastors and church workers. Finally, the lack of resources to meet the demands and needs of the church is another challenge. How do we build churches, support schools, projects, and activities that keep our congregations moving and growing?

Preus: Has the warfare in Sudan over the last few decades had major impact on the life of your Church? If so, how has it? If not, why not?

Elisa: The impact and effect of the warfare in the Sudan is one of the greatest challenges ELCS faces and will continue to experience for a number of years. The ELCS came into being during wartime, when people lived in camps and displaced centers. At that time fear, hunger, oppression, and poverty dominated people's lives, and they depended on the church to be their voice and spokesman. Today, many changes have taken place with the coming of peace to the Sudan, in both northern and southern regions. Some of the impact facing the church now is people's movement as the displaced are returning to southern Sudan. This movement of peoples is experienced by our congregations as people are changing positions and newcomers are appearing in centers. Second, a large number of people are getting employment and find they are moving to different locations for jobs. Third, the nation is building its economy as well as organizing the civil service system in the government offices. This development has come with a great challenge to ELCS, since a government salary is just above what the church can afford to pay, hence people who have suffered for many years now get jobs and don't have enough time for their church activities. Fourth, the congregations in the north still face the question of having time to worship on Sundays. But of all these, the movement of people is the greatest challenge to us, and how children have grown up in wartime without Christian or social education. These children need proper education to bring them to proper understandings of morals and ethical ways of living. In order to do this, ELCS needs resources to organize workshops, seminars, and basic education for Lutheran children that can enable them to grow in the faith.

Our stand as a church is to continue preaching the word in its truthfulness, administer the sacraments, and train our people to abide by what is written in the Scriptures s well as the confessional writings of Dr. Martin Luther.

Preus: Is the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Sudan considering declaration of fellowship with other Lutheran church bodies?

Elisa: We do intend to declare fellowship with other confessional Lutheran bodies, but the issue of fellowship is not just a theological matter but also complicated by politics. No mat-

ter how much the church is sound in doctrine and theology, declaring fellowship is guided by certain factors that we in the ELCS are not able to meet. Our stand as a church is to continue preaching the word in its truthfulness, administer the sacraments, and train our people to abide by what is written in the Scriptures as well as the confessional writings of Dr. Martin Luther. Meanwhile, we shall be waiting for a church body that will say we need fellowship with ELCS because it is a confessional church. Otherwise, the politics in the world will keep ELCS from declaring fellowship with other church bodies since we are young and are inexperienced in these matters.

Preus: What is your assessment of the health of confessional Lutheranism on the African continent?

Elisa: The question of confessional Lutheranism on the continent of Africa requires a very serious dialogue among the African theologians and church leaders in particular. I have spoken several times to some of my colleagues who are leaders of the confessional church bodies in Africa, and tried to ask questions for which we need answers. For example, what is our major theological challenge as confessional Lutherans in Africa? Are we also threatened by the same challenges that face the churches in the West? To my understanding, we do have our own challenges in Africa, and those challenges can only be identified if we come together, if we accept ourselves and listen to one another, and if we begin to think about confessionalism in Africa and stop just importing ideas. Our studies about the churches we lead, our theological challenges, our tradition, and economic problems will give us the opportunity of building a healthy confessional church in Africa. As the church in Africa seeks solutions to overcome problems, there is a danger in taking on board theological liberalism because of poverty and a lack of firm theological ground. LOGIA

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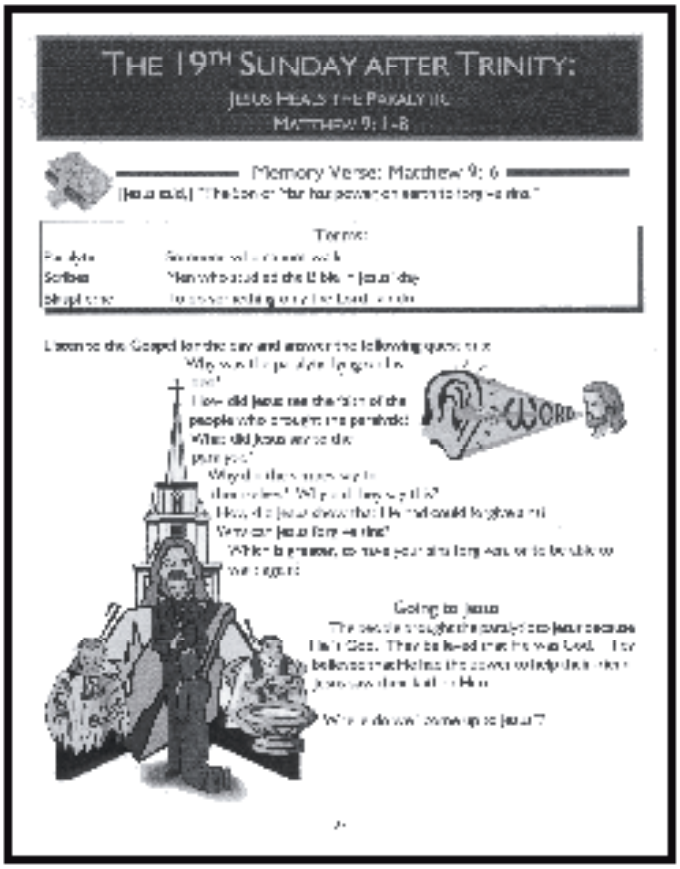
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South Africa's Felsisa

A History

William R. Wangelin

If one drives through the eastern regions of South Africa, amidst fields of sugar cane, corn, and eucalyptus trees, one notices the impact of the early European settlers by the names of the towns. There are English names, such as Richard's Bay and Greytown, and Afrikaans names such as Bloemfontein and Vryheid. What is surprising to the unsuspecting traveler is the number of German town names such as Wittenberg, Wartburg, and Lüneburg. In fact, not only do these communities have German names, but also people who have preserved their language, culture, and religion to this day. These are the German Lutheran communities of South Africa. Small but deeply rooted, these communities have found a way to engage the world around them while not letting go of their cultural and religious heritage. In their business they speak English. In their towns they speak Afrikaans. On the street they speak some Zulu. German finds expression in their homes and in their churches.

Several of these German Lutheran congregations in South Africa, along with a few congregations using English and Afrikaans, form the Free Evangelical Lutheran Synod in South Africa, or FELSISA. FELSISA is a member of the International Lutheran Council (ILC) and a sister synod of the Lutheran Church—Missouri Synod (LCMS). The two synods actually have many things in common. They are both products of nineteenth-century German mission work and immigration. They both represent conservative Lutheranism with a solid commitment to Scripture and the Lutheran Confessions. FELSISA's traditions, church architecture, and community life all have their counterparts in America. What is interesting is that although there are many similarities between the two synods, their history and development are almost completely independent of each other. One is not a "daughter" synod of the other, nor did they help each other get established. The global community of confessional Lutherans is small enough, however, to prevent these two synods from developing without noticing one another. In recent years, largely through the formation of the ILC, these two church bodies are more fully enjoying the blessings of their common confessional identity.

William R. Wangelin is associate pastor of Holy Cross Lutheran Church, Jenison, Michigan.

THE PLANTING OF THE HERMANNSBURG MISSION IN SOUTH AFRICA

The German Lutheran congregations of FELSISA are the indirect results of the missionary activities of the Hermannsburg Mission in Africa. The Hermannsburg Mission Society was organized in 1849 by the visionary and gifted Ludwig (or Louis) Harms (1808–1865). Although he was the pastor of a small town on the prairie of Lüneburg, few people have contributed more to Lutheran missions. Lutherans on five continents can draw a direct line to the town of Hermannsburg and its most famous pastor. The Lutherans in Africa, however, have the privilege not only of being the first endeavor of the Hermannsburg Mission, but also of being called by Harms his "first love."

Louis Harms was a dynamic preacher swept up in the tide of Pietism and revival spreading across Germany at the time. People would walk long distances to hear him preach on the Christian faith and how it is made evident in their lives. As he ministered to his flock, he became more and more conscious of his Lutheran identity grounded in the Lutheran Confessions. It was a joy for Harms to make Lutheran theology concrete for his people. In order to put theory into practice, Harms developed the vision of sending missionaries to the heathen in far away lands. Harms opened the Hermannsburg Mission training center, also called the Mission House, in October of 1849. Several young men signed up for training by Harms to be sent to East Africa—today's Ethiopia—to work among the Oromo peoples, also known as the Gallas. It would take four years before they would be prepared to be sent out to proclaim the gospel.

Harms's vision for his mission was to establish a network of Christian communities among the native peoples much like the Celtic and Irish missionaries had done among the German pagans in the seventh and eighth centuries. After raising funds for the establishment of the Mission House, Harms worked on transportation for the missionaries. He had their own ship built, which was christened the *Candace* after the queen of Ethiopia of Acts 8:27. With the missionaries trained and the *Candace* waiting in the port of Hamburg, the entire congregation traveled by special trains to see them off. It was truly a special occasion on 28 October 1853, when sixteen missionaries, eight ordained and eight lay colonists, set sail for the southern hemisphere.

It was not a short trip. They arrived in Cape Town, South Africa, in January 1854. They then traveled to the eastern port city of Durban, then called Port Natal, arriving there in March. It was here that they were welcomed by a German Lutheran mis-

sionary named Wilhelm Posselt, who had been sent by the Berlin Mission Society in 1839. In 1854, he was serving a group of German immigrants who had come to establish farms in fertile Natal, a province in eastern South Africa. Their settlement was called "New Germany." It was among these people that the Hermannsburg missionaries found a warm welcome during their short stay in Durban. Although they were headed for Ethiopia, the hand of God would use these German settlers to play an important role in the future of the Hermannsburg Mission in an unexpected change of course.

Between 1854 and 1866, forty-four missionaries and forty-one lay colonists from Hermannsburg in Germany settled in South Africa.

Correspondence to Harms took a year to circulate back to the missionaries in Natal. When they landed in Durban they again made contact with missionary Posselt from New Germany. He recommended they commence missionary work among the Zulu peoples, as there was a great need for missionaries in that area. They wrote to Louis Harms and told them of their plan to work among the Zulus and waited for his direction. Should they continue work in South Africa or return to Germany? Although saddened that the original plan did not work out, Harms rejoiced that God had directed them to the land of South Africa and to the Zulus in Natal. This area became the focus of the Hermannsburg Mission and its congregation.

Upon the recommendation of other missionaries in Natal, Harms's group set up a home base on the edge of the province near the kingdom of the Zulus. They named their settlement after their home in Germany, Hermannsburg. The original buildings erected by these missionaries in the town of Hermannsburg, South Africa, stand to this day as a testimony of their faith and courage. Once missionary activity was underway there, the missionaries started stations in the Zulu kingdom, the Transvaal Republic, and the region of Tswana. They focused on preaching and teaching, and the colonists provided for the physical needs of the community by building, planting, and maintaining. The *Candace* returned with missionaries, supplies, and brides for the workers in 1856, 1857, and 1861. The mission had commenced and was bringing the gospel of Jesus Christ to the heathen of Africa.

THE MISSION GIVES RISE TO CONGREGATIONS

Between 1854 and 1866, forty-four missionaries and forty-one lay colonists from Hermannsburg in Germany settled in South Africa. From 1866 onwards, new missionaries graduated from the seminary every two years, many of them being sent to the mission fields of South Africa. As children were born to these missionaries and colonists, the German mission communities became small villages. Things did not go entirely as planned, and soon the cost of maintaining the colonists was too much of a burden on the mission, and they were eventually released from their service. Many of them had already left the mission fields for farm fields voluntarily. Most stuck together and formed little German communities in the African frontier. They adopted the Lüneburg church order as their form of church governance. At first their spiritual needs were met by the local missionaries, but soon they were in need of their own pastors. These communities brought about the first German congregations of FELSISA.

In 1869, missionary Johann Heinrich Jakob Filter was driven out of Zululand for effectively converting the sons of the Zulu king Cetshwayo. He was assigned a visitation route of northern Natal by superintendent Hohls until a suitable station could be found for him. As he was visiting the German settlers in north Natal, tragedy struck the colonists. A little boy, the eldest son of the Meyer family, drowned. Missionary Filter was asked to perform the burial, which he did on the first Sunday of Advent, 28 November 1869. That afternoon, he conducted a worship service for the settlers, the first service of the new congregation. The next day there was a congregational meeting, and the name "Lüneburg" was adopted, since the settlers had originated from the Lüneburger Heide in northern Germany. A small church was built, and a school was founded the following year. This school is currently still operating, and is the oldest school in northern Natal.

The German settlements near Lüneburg prospered and flourished. Several members of the congregation bought land further east near Swaziland. The distance to the church in Lüneburg took three to four hours and involved fording a large river. Soon these settlers asked the pastor in Lüneburg if he could make the trip out to the bush. In 1884, disturbances in Zululand drove out many Hermannsburg missionaries, among them missionary Johann Friedrich Wilhelm Weber. When he bought a farm near these settlers, they organized a congregation and called him as their pastor. The congregation was named Bergen. After a few years, missionary Weber died of cancer, and missionary Johann Heinrich Christian Johannes was called to reorganize the congregation. Under his care, the congregation prospered and supported their pastor and school. Pastor Johannes continued mission work among the heathen while serving the German congregation.

Further south in Natal, about twenty miles northeast of Pietermaritzburg, several German settlers moved out from their congregation in New-Hanover. On 28 February 1881, nineteen families organized a congregation they called Kirchdorf and resolved to build a church, parsonage, and school. In September of the following year, the congregation asked the Hermannsburg Mission to dedicate their church building. After missionary Gustav Adolph Ferdinand Stielau assisted in the dedication, the congregation decided to call him as their pastor. Three members traveled to Hermannsburg to negotiate with superintendent Hohls. Missionary Stielau was installed in Kirchdorf

on 9 February 1883 and served forty-five years until he retired on 1 January 1927. On 19 April 1883, the statutes of the congregation were unanimously adopted that bound the pastor and the congregation to the Lutheran Confessions and to the Lüneburg church order.

Forty years after the first Hermannsburg missionaries arrived in South Africa, their labors gave rise not only to missions among the heathen, but also to the German Lutheran congregations. The congregations were decidedly Lutheran in confession, and German in character. The tensions of being confessionally Lutheran and culturally German would affect them for generations, and only be resolved through difficult decisions. The congregations in Lüneburg, Bergen, and Kirchdorf made their first difficult decision in breaking with the Hermannsburg Mission and organizing the Free Evangelical Lutheran Church in South Africa. Their guiding principles were disclosed in their heritage, namely, the Christian mission emphasis of Louis Harms and their dedication to the Confessions of the Lutheran Church

THE SITUATION IN GERMANY: FROM STATE CHURCH TO FREE CHURCH

Louis Harms was a decidedly Lutheran pastor and took a conservative position in the theological disputes in the kingdom of Hanover.[1] When the state church of Hanover began moving in the direction of the Prussian Union after Hanover was annexed by Prussia in 1866, Lutherans true to their convictions left the state church and organized an evangelical Lutheran free church.

The push for an independent church was led by Louis Harms's younger brother, Theodore Harms (1819–1885). Theodore had taken over the pastorate in Hermannsburg as well as the position of director of the Hermannsburg Mission. He was convinced of a conservative confessional position early on and was a teacher in the mission house before taking over his brother's work. In 1878, as a controversy regarding civil marriages came to a head, Theodore was suspended and then removed from office. He reorganized the Hermannsburg congregation as a free church with about 2,000 members. Two months later, Hermannsburg joined other congregations that left the state church and with them organized the Hanoverian Evangelical Lutheran Free Church on 30 April 1878.

As director of the Hermannsburg Mission, Theodore Harms took seriously the divide between the Hanoverian state church and the Hanoverian free church he had established. He saw to it that only missionaries connected to the free church were sent into the mission field. Consequently, the congregations of the state church decided to withhold their contributions through the Epiphany collection to the Hermannsburg Mission. The division seemed natural enough on the grounds of church fellowship, but was a difficult break with culture and tradition for the Hermannsburg supporters in the area. After Harms's death, his son and successor, Egmont Harms, sought to bring the mission back to the Hanoverian state church. The mission had been strapped for donations and Harms was looking for stronger financial backing. The philosophy promoted during this time was that the mission was "exempt" from the division between the state church and free church. In Egmont Harms's opinion, the mission should belong to neither the state church nor the free church, but rather be a joint mission where they could work together, although they were two separate churches, each of which defined itself in opposition to the other.

Forty years after the first Hermannsburg missionaries arrived in South Africa, their labors gave rise not only to missions among the heathen, but also to the German Lutheran congregations.

The new philosophy of the mission led to some structural changes within the mission leadership. It was the codirector, Johann Gottfried Oepke, a member of the state church, who negotiated an agreement with the Hanoverian state church regarding the leadership of the mission in 1889. This was essentially a merger between the mission and the state church, and brought the mission under the control of the state church consistory. The agreement between the mission leadership and the state consistory had five points that established altar fellowship between the Hanoverian state church, the Hermannsburg Mission, and the congregations established by the mission in Africa. The free church founded by Theodor Harms had been totally excluded.

REACTION TO THE MERGER IN SOUTH AFRICA

The missionaries and pastors in South Africa watched the situation in Germany closely. Again, most of those sent by Theodore Harms were from the free church and were not in fellowship with the state church. It took time to sort through the implications of this among the congregations and missionaries in South Africa. The mandates from the fatherland did not always translate into immediate action on the mission field, as communication between the two could take months, and permanent changes took time. The first pastor to protest the merger was Johann David Oltmann from New-Hanover in Natal. His congregation, however, adamantly supported it. The conflict resulted in Oltmann being dismissed from his congregation. When Oltmann asked the mission supervisor in Africa to be

1. An example of this was Harms's position in 1862 when the king forced the introduction of the *Waltherscher Catechismus* of 1653.

placed in another station of the mission, the supervisor had to write to Germany for directions. The answer from the Hermannsburg leadership was that if someone left his congregation or was released by them, he could no longer serve in the mission. Oltmann was thereby released from the Hermannsburg Mission. The attempt to force unity on the mission had resulted in more division.

The ultimate divide between the mission and the Hanoverian state church was of a confessional nature.

The break between the Hanoverian state church and the free church had finally reached South Africa. Pastors, congregations, and missionaries were begrudgingly forced to reconsider their connection with a church body that expressed itself ultimately in altar fellowship. What was still unclear at this point was the relationship between the German congregations in South Africa and the Hermannsburg Mission. It was pastor Gustav A. F. Stielau in Kirchdorf, Natal, who wrote to Director Haccius regarding the founding of a Synod for the South African German churches. Haccius responded on 6 February 1891 that the German congregations were free to do as they wished, but hoped that they would remain connected to the mission.

The congregations in Lüneburg and Bergen, however, were considering doing just the opposite. They wrote to the mission with two concerns. The first was over the establishment of church, that is, altar, fellowship with the Hanoverian state church. This therefore put all the missionaries and their congregations in *de facto* fellowship with the state church, although many considered themselves in fellowship with the Hanoverian free church. The resulting conflict was obvious to them. By declaring fellowship with the state church, the mission was asking all its missionaries and pastors to choose either the Hermannsburg Mission or the Hanoverian free church. The second concern was with the theological direction of the mission in general. Influences of the Prussian Union, rationalism, and doctrinal laxity were what caused many to form the free church initially. As the Hermannsburg Mission grew closer to the state church, many of these negative influences were being observed in the mission. Teacher Wagner at the Mission House was teaching about certain "inaccuracies" in the Bible that violated the belief in the inerrancy and verbal inspiration of Scripture. The Lüneburg and Bergen congregations thereby made two requests: first, that the Hermannsburg Mission would sever its fellowship with the Hanoverian state church; second, that the mission would be certain to teach only true Lutheran doctrine in the mission school, particularly that the Bible is the inerrant word of God from the first to the last letter. For these congregations, the ultimate divide between the mission and the Hanoverian state church was of a confessional nature.

Haccius responded that the mission was to remain a "neutral area" regarding the theological differences that plagued the free church and state church. He stated that there were still faithful Lutherans in the Hanoverian state church, and as far as fellowship in the Lord's Supper was concerned, the congregations could be selective in order to admit only members of the state church who were "true Lutherans" to their tables. This made the influence of the Prussian Union on Haccius quite evident. The rationalism of that day tried to make faith a personal matter concerned only with the individual, and not with a church body. Structures and institutions were seen as superficial and irrelevant when it came to confessing the faith and preserving doctrine. The free churches, however, saw no distinction in a person's personal faith, public confession, and a church body. This was not the view of the Hermannsburg Mission. Haccius assured the South African congregations that only pure Lutheran doctrine was being taught at the Mission House, without addressing specific issues. The letter closed by asking that the congregations remain faithful to the Hermannsburg Mission.

The congregations of Lüneburg and Bergen were torn between being faithful to their historical and emotional ties to the Hermannsburg Mission or to their Lutheran confession of the Christian faith. They met again in Lüneburg on 22 January and in Bergen on 15 February 1892 to discuss Haccius's letter. They responded the following day that their requests were left unfilled. They had no fellowship with the Hanoverian state church or its members. As far as they knew, the missionaries of South Africa had fellowship with the Hanoverian free church since the time of Theodore Harms. They asked the leadership of the mission to respond to their two points with clarity before the discussion could go any further.

THE FORMATION OF FELSISA

The mission board was not inclined to submit to the requests of the African congregations. The situation did not improve when Pastor Johannes of Bergen officially protested against the unchristian "ousting" of Pastor Oltmann from the mission. The board was unwilling to do much about the situation. In light of this, the congregations of Lüneburg and Bergen met on 12 and 13 September 1892, and resolved formally to dissolve their ties with the Hermannsburg Mission and subsequently organized the Free Evangelical Lutheran Synod in South Africa. The constitution of the Hanoverian free church served as the basis for the first FELSISA constitution. The strong ties to the free church were evident in FELSISA's name, since the word *free* really has no meaning in a country where there is no established state church. A letter was also drawn up and sent to the Hanoverian free church to reaffirm their altar fellowship and their relationship as a sister synod.

The two congregations and their pastors were not alone in this endeavor. Attending the meetings of Lüneburg and Bergen was Missionary J. Ch. Prigge from Goede Hoop. He was in complete agreement with the two congregations and their pastors. He declared his resignation from the Hermannsburg

Mission on 2 November 1892. During the founding meetings of FELSISA on 1 September 1892, Prigge was named president of the synod. He then offered his services to the Hanoverian free church. By the end of 1892, Pastor Stielau left the Hermannsburg Mission with the larger part of his congregation in Kirchdorf, Natal, and joined FELSISA. Other missionaries and congregations would follow in subsequent years. The break between the state church and free church had now been translated to the mission field.

The emotional ties to the Hermannsburg Mission must have been difficult to cut. Not only were they united to the mission by their proud heritage and culture, but also by their family and friends. It is difficult to explain what must have been a painful separation among the Lutherans in South Africa if the matter is not understood as primarily theological. The inner conviction that pure Lutheran doctrine was no longer being taught and promoted in the Hanoverian state church is what ultimately brought the separation about. The expressed concerns were over the verbal inspiration of the Bible as the word of God, and the unity of confession made at the celebration of the Lord's Supper. The Lutherans in South Africa were not the first to be divided by these issues, nor were the Lutherans in the kingdom of Hanover. And yet each generation is called to stay true to its conscience and profess the truth in its day. The faithful Lutherans in South Africa had found their day and stayed true to their convictions. Thus, the first free Lutheran synod in Africa was established on the unswerving commitment to the Scriptures and the Lutheran Confessions.

THE PIONEER SPIRIT AND NEW CONGREGATIONS

Life for the German Lutherans in South Africa brought both blessings and hardships. Africa was a land of innumerable opportunities for European settlers on the eve of the twentieth century. Dreams of land, prosperity, and, particularly in South Africa, diamonds and gold, drove many to expand the frontier. The land was wild and full of adventures. Antelope, elephants, giraffes, and lions roamed in abundance. The frontier of European expansion often coincided with the European missionary efforts. At times, missions to the native Africans drew German settlers who supported the mission. Other times, those on the frontier called on the services of the church to follow them in their trek and provide for their spiritual care. As more and more Europeans came for the adventure and fortune they sought, the need to minister to them expanded the Lutheran church in the German language. Thus two Lutheran churches were growing in South Africa. One was the mission church at work among the native Africans. The other was the church of the Europeans, or more precisely, the Germans.

In its earliest days, the congregations of FELSISA were established by both mission expansion and colonial expansion. While some immigrants went in search of gold or diamonds, most were simply farmers in the rural expanse. The congregation in Lüneburg was largely founded by German settlers, and the congregation in Bergen grew out of further settlements. Kirchdorf had also been established by German farmers who needed spiritual care. Expansion of the mission and of the German settlers around the turn of the century gave rise to new German congregations in Uelzen and Eschede.

Lüneburg was situated in Natal near its boarders with Zululand, Swaziland, and the Transvaal Republic. This made it vulnerable to the various conflicts and wars between these groups. The church was encircled by a stone wall and trenches to defend the building and congregation. It served as a sort of fort for protection from Zulu warriors. The farms were frequently plundered or terrorized. When the Zulu War broke out, a few hundred English soldiers came to the rescue of the German farmers and camped near Lüneburg's school house. The stories were passed on in the congregation of the fear of the native marauders and the bravery of the German farmers. Pastor Filter's eldest son, who volunteered for service, noticed a band of Zulus stealing cattle from the Niebuhr's farm. When he went to recapture the animals, the Zulus were hiding in the grass to trap him. When they sprang from hiding, the young Filter tried to escape on his swift horse, but to no avail. He was captured and never seen again. Three months after the war, his parents received word of his death. During the war, the families would run to the protection of the barricaded church, only to see their homes go up in flames. The war lasted a year and a half.

As more and more Europeans came for the adventure and fortune they sought, the need to minister to them expanded the Lutheran church in the German language.

What preceded these Zulu wars was the expansion of European colonists into the African interior. The British and the Dutch settlers, referred to as Boers (German *Buren*), were competing for control of the region. The Dutch had arrived in the Cape along with some Germans in 1652. It is the Dutch language of these Cape colonists that developed into the present day Afrikaans language. The British took control of the colony by force in 1806 and began working their way into Africa. Tensions arose when the British exerted their presence and expanded their interests in southern Africa. There was an inherent dislike of the British on the part of many of the Boer settlers, and bands of Boers began moving inland to avoid the British regime. One of the issues was over slavery, which the British had outlawed in the Cape colony in 1834. Boers began moving out in great procession in covered wagons on what would be called the Great Trek. When Boer Leader Piet Retief was killed by Zulu raiders, a group of Boers fought off an entire army of Zulu warriors in what was called the Battle of Blood River on 16 December 1838, an event that would inspire Boer settlers for generations. When the British followed the Boers into Natal, the Boers moved north

and organized the Republic of Transvaal in 1852. The discovery of gold in the area gave more impetus to British expansion, and the skirmishes between Afrikaans-speaking Boers and the British Empire climaxed in the South African War (1899–1902), also called the Anglo-Boer War.

The Anglo-Boer War is considered the first "modern" war fought with high-powered rifles and mechanical transport. Much of the conflict involved the countryside inhabited by the German settlers, and therefore was near the congregations of FELSISA. Those near the border of Natal and the Transvaal Republic were most affected. The congregations of Lüneburg and Bergen received the worst of it and were almost completely destroyed. Members of these congregations were conscripted for military service by the Transvaal Republic. Members of congregations in Natal were conscripted for service in the British army. Germans were fighting Germans. The women and children of Lüneburg and Bergen were rounded up by the British and put into concentration camps, where many of them died from disease. Almost all the homes were left a heap of ashes. During the war over 30,000 farms were destroyed, and although about 6,000 Boer men died fighting, almost 28,000 Boer women and children died in the camps, which was 14.5 percent of the population.[2] Although the Germans insisted they were neutral in the conflict, many of the German missionaries and pastors were interned in camps, as were their wives and children. When the war ended, the members of these congregations returned to pick up the pieces and start over.

All contact and funding from Germany ceased in 1936.

Lüneburg's church building survived, and the German community was able to come together and help their neighbors rebuild. The church in Bergen had been completely obliterated, and the first decision that had to be made after the war was where to start over. Some of the members wanted to remain near the original Bergen. Others settled further east near the town of Piet Retief and wanted to form their own congregation. As a result, the congregation called Wittenberg was founded in 1902 by the Bergen members who resettled after the war. Pastor H. C. Johannes followed a call to these former members and served as Wittenberg's first pastor. Several years later, in 1925, some members from Wittenberg organized their own congregation in Panbult. Pastor Johannes, who was retiring from the congregation in Wittenberg, served the little flock in Panbult until his death in 1938. The pain and scars of the Boer War are perpetuated in these congregations to this day.

STILL A CHURCH ABOUT MISSION

FELSISA congregations never forgot their roots in the mission endeavors of Louis and Theodore Harms. The missionaries of the Hanoverian free church continued to serve FELSISA congregations, and the congregations in turn supported the mission. In 1892, when FELSISA congregations and several missionaries left the Hermannsburg Mission, the Hanoverian free church sought to continue Lutheran mission work in the spirit of Louis Harms. They resolved the following:

> (1) We acknowledge it as our duty to continue the old Lutheran mission of Louis Harms. (2) We want to carry out this mission work as a churchly work, that is, as the mission work of our Hanoverian Free Church.[3]

The mission was no longer a "private matter." They realized already in 1889 that "the Lutheran Church can only carry out Lutheran mission, and Lutheran mission can only be carried out by a Lutheran church."[4] There was now a solid connection between what the church was and what the church was to do. The FELSISA congregations were united with the Hanoverian free church in carrying out the mission of the church, and their work continues today.

Although the Hanoverian free church continued to support the missionaries in Africa after they separated from the Hermannsburg Mission in 1892, their mission was not formally organized until 1903. This mission was centered in Bleckmar, and therefore known as the Bleckmar Mission. When the Hanoverian free church merged with the Lutheran churches in Hessen (later the old Independent Evangelical Lutheran Church, SELK), they adopted the Bleckmar Mission as their own. Problems arose at the onset of World War II, since South Africa was controlled by the British, and the Bleckmar Mission was German. All contact and funding from Germany ceased in 1936, and FELSISA took on the sole responsibility for the mission work. By 1950, when the old SELK established fellowship with the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Prussia and the Saxon Free Church, all three adopted the Bleckmar Mission as their own and relieved FELSISA as the sole financial supporter.

As a result of the continued mission work in South Africa by the missionaries of the Hanoverian free church, more missionaries and their families came to the region. This led to the rise of more congregations. There was a house church for missionary families organized in Goede-Hoop as early as the 1870s, as well as in Sulphur Springs and Shelly Beach.

2. Hildemarie Grünewald, *Die Geschichte der Deutschen in Südafrika* (Cape Town: Ulrich Naumann Verlag, 1998), 90. See also Niall Ferguson, *Empire: The Rise and Demise of the British World Order and the Lessons for Global Power* (New York: Basic Books, 2002), 277–279.
3. Manfred Roensch and Werner Klän, *Quellen zur Entstehung und Entwicklung selbständiger evangelisch-lutherischer Kirchen in Deutschland* (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1987), 458.
4. Ibid., 452.

The mission of the German free churches was near and dear to FELSISA, and they took great interest in supporting the mission church and in helping it become a self-supporting church body. This process was begun in the 1950s by the Bleckmar Mission. By 1967, the mission congregations came together officially to organize the Lutheran Church in Southern Africa, or LCSA. LCSA is now a member of the International Lutheran Council and a sister church of FELSISA and a partner with the Bleckmar Mission. There is currently a healthy partnership between LCSA, FELSISA, SELK in Germany, and the LCMS in America that continues the confessional Lutheran mission work in southern Africa.

CITY EXPANSION AND NEW FRONTIERS

After World War II, FELSISA was still very much a rural church. The 1950s marked a new era in the church's history. During this time, more members were moving to the big cities to find work, and students were attending the universities in Johannesburg and Pretoria. The need became quickly apparent that these German Lutherans needed spiritual care in and around the cities. Pastors began making visits to metropolitan regions where FELSISA members were gathered. Congregations were established in Durban, Johannesburg-Fairlands, Pretoria, Kempton Park, Greytown, Newcastle, and Vryheid in the 1960s and 1970s. Being near the cities brought about new opportunities, such as outreach opportunities in German, Afrikaans, and English. It also brought about new challenges as the congregations wrestled with their German identity, apartheid, and their church culture. In recent decades, however, FELSISA has taken new and bold approaches to bringing the gospel to the people around them.

FELSISA president Ahlers has called the past two decades a "time of outreach" for the small synod.[5] This has happened in a number of ways. The first is through intentional outreach to different language groups. Already in 1967, Pastor Eckard Schroeder was preaching in Johannesburg in German, English, and Afrikaans. These last two language groups have received more attention in recent years. Some congregations have simply added an English or Afrikaans worship service. Congregations that began offering both German and English worship services include those in Fairlands, Uelzen, Greytown, Durban, and Shelly Beach. The South African Lutheran Mission Society (SALMS) was organized in the 1980s to promote English mission work, and English congregations have been formed in Randburg, Pietermaritzburg, Cape Town, and Wartburg. Afrikaans congregations have also been organized in Pretoria and Piet Retief.

Apartheid ended in South Africa in 1994. The face of South Africa is changing, and along with this change comes both blessings and great challenges. FELSISA is also going through a period of change, and is seeking to face the challenges with wisdom and faith while praising God for his many blessings. With new languages come new opportunities. The synod is learning to reach out to non-Germans in new ways. This, of course, has always been done since the beginning through prayers, financial support, and leadership. But in the new South Africa, FELSISA is taking a form of leadership that leads by example. The changes are difficult to embrace for many, and it cannot happen overnight, but it appears that some of the best years for FELSISA are just beginning. As FELSISA develops missions in English and Afrikaans, and continues faithfully to minister to its German-speaking members, who knows what other opportunities lay ahead? LOGIA

5. P. H. F. Ahlers, *The Free Evangelical Lutheran Synod in South Africa* (pamphlet, 2005).

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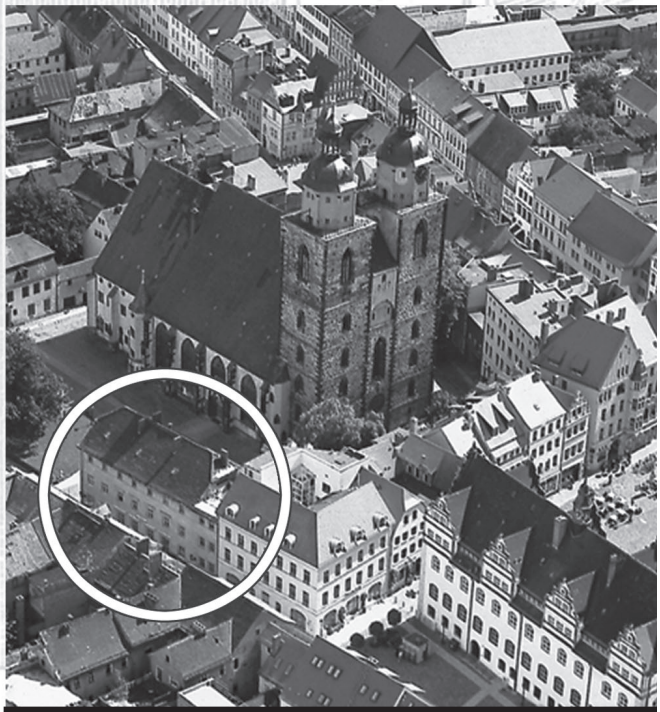
-Rev. Matthew Harrison, executive director
LCMS World Relief and Human Care

Fewer than 20 percent of the people in the town most associated with Martin Luther today are Christian, much less Lutheran. LCMS World Mission is excited to be in a partnership that intends to share the Good News of Jesus with the people of Wittenberg and to re-establish a Lutheran congregation in this place with so much meaning for us as Lutherans.

-Rev. Robert Roegner, executive director
LCMS World Mission



Site of the new ministry center in Wittenberg

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Nurturing the Lutheran Church in Liberia's Theological Ecosystem

William Russell

Last summer, my Liberian hosts took me "up country." As we bounced over narrow, washed out, dirt roads and crawled across streams where bridges once stood, we talked about the rainforests. And we talked about the church. To the casual observer, the huge trees with canopies hundreds of feet in the air are the most prominent feature of the landscape. The giants are majestic, but statuesque. From the ground, not much seems to be going on up there. So one's eye tracks downward to the lower-level trees that provide nourishment (like bananas) and shelter (like palms) for those who live in the bush. From the road, the third level of the forest (the grasses, vines, and ivies) seems to flow like a river of green from those trees. Then we stopped and got out. As my friends led me into the forest, they helped me see what I would have missed from our comfortable four-wheeler: the rainforest floor was busy with life. Most of the creatures live *on* the ground, and the insects and microbes and bacteria that make the earth so fertile live *in* the ground. It is easy to miss all this action, but it is vital to the health of the whole. It is, after all, an ecosystem.

As we talked, my friends also helped me see that Lutheran theological education in Liberia is like the rainforest. The most prominent feature is the Gbarnga School of Theology (GST), the only mainline Protestant seminary in Liberia. GST's natural home is in rural Bong County, some seventy miles inland, where the first Lutheran missionaries to the African continent concentrated their work. In 2001, because of the civil war, the seminary transplanted operations to the campus of the United Methodist University in Monrovia. Now that the war is over, the GST community longs to return home to Gbarnga. Even away from its native habitat, however, GST's Lutheran studies program continues to train pastors for Lutheran parishes in Liberia.

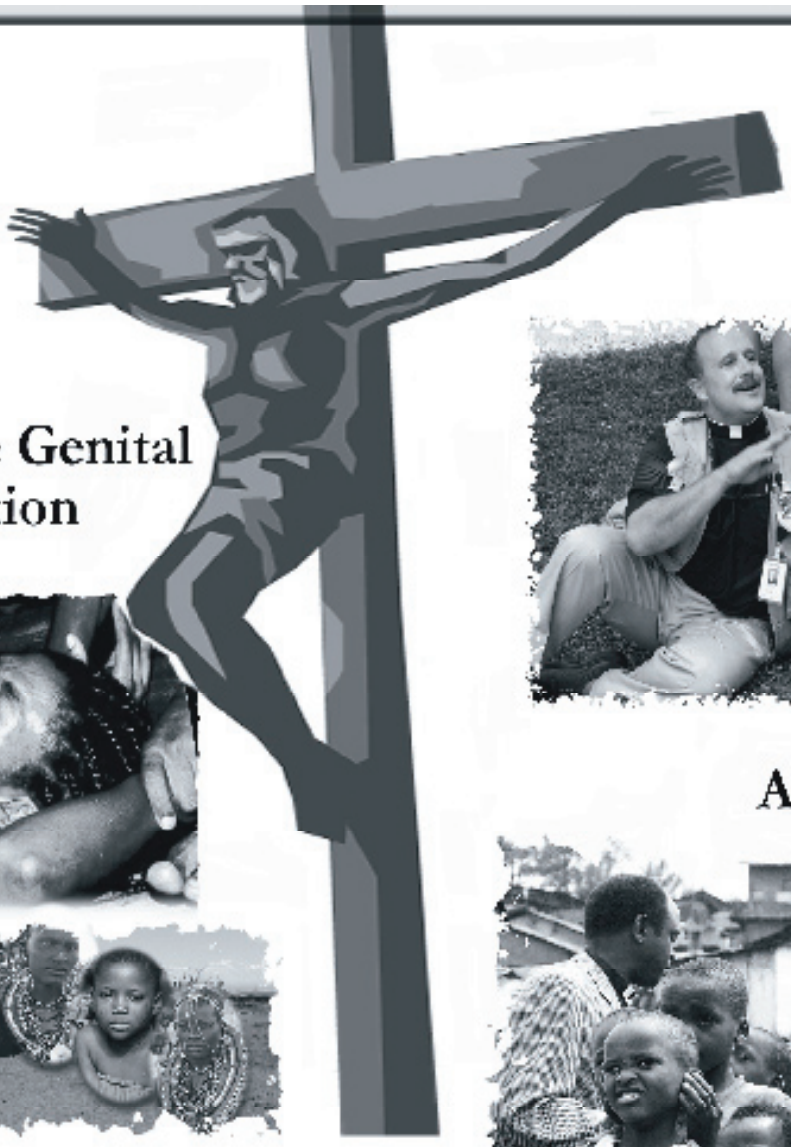
This leads to the next level of Liberian theological education: the clergy, with their theological degrees and ordination, who protect and nourish the life of Lutheranism in Liberia. As a group, these pastors are intensely committed to theological growth. Events such as the Continuing Education for Pastors (CEP), where some 80 percent of Liberia's Lutheran clergy attend week-long series of lectures and Bible studies, provide fertile ground. This also happens when these brothers and sisters gather for "mutual conversation and consolation" and discussions quickly, and energetically, turn to issues of theology and practice.

This kind of growth spills over into the third level of theological education in Liberia—the deaconate and lay evangelists. These folks, under the pastoral oversight of ordained ministers, offer ministries of word and service throughout the country. The programs of the Louis T. Bowers Lay Leaders and Ministry Training Center in Totota nourish the theological growth of these committed lay people.

The fourth level of theological education is, so to speak, on the ground, where theological education happens in homes, schools, and congregations. Study groups, along with word-centered worship, directly touch the most lives in Liberian Lutheranism. At this level, church life is intensely busy as thousands of lay theologians seek to understand the essentials of the faith. These folks and their profound questions and desire to connect faith and everyday life encourage and challenge their leaders to grow theologically.

And this leads back to the preparation of pastor-theologians at the Gbarnga School of Theology, for it is the church leaders trained at GST who will engage folks "on the ground" of the Liberian church. In an ecosystem, all levels of life are vital to the whole. In Liberia, because it is the only tree of its kind in the forest, GST needs special care. In particular, this seminary needs to move back to its native soil in Bong County. There, GST can better nurture would-be pastors in a community of faith and learning. There, GST can better train pastors to serve rural parishes. There, GST can grow strong and tall as it contributes to the theological ecosystem of Liberian Lutheranism. LOGIA

William Russell is Scholar-in-Residence in Theology at Texas Lutheran University, Seguin, Texas. He was Guest Lecturer at the Gbarnga School of Theology in the summer of 2007. He also served as plenary speaker to the Lutheran Church in Liberia's annual Continuing Education for Pastors (CEP) event in Totota. For information about how to contribute to the work of the Gbarnga School of Theology, contact Dr. Russell at wrussell@tlu.edu



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Reviews

"It is not many books that make men learned . . . but it is a good book frequently read."
Martin Luther

Review Essay

Compendium Locorum Theologicorum ex Scripturis Sacris et Libro Concordiae. Lateinisch–deutsch–englisch. By Leonhart Hütter. (2 Volumes) Kritisch herausgegeben, kommentiert und mit einem Nachwort sowie einer Bibliographie sämtlicher Drucke des Compendium versehen von Johann Anselm Steiger (Doctrina et Pietas, Abt. II. Varia, Band 3). Stuttgart-Bad Cannstat: Frommann-Holzboog, 2006. 1144 pages.

There are popular English and German versions of Hütter's famous *Compendium* available. But there is nothing compared to this critical edition that was prepared, commented, and published by the Hamburg professor of theology Johann Anselm Steiger in his incredible series "Doctrina et Pietas" (which includes many works by John Gerhard).

The first volume displays the original Latin and German versions by Hütter himself, which are printed in parallel. This enables the reader not only to practice these fundamental languages of the Lutheran Church, but also to compare both versions, since the German text is not always a translation of the Latin text only. So the situation is similar to that in the Lutheran Confessions, where we need to read the German and Latin as commenting on each other. To be sure, Hütter's work, which for decades served as a mandatory textbook for high schools and universities in German Lutheran territories in the age of Lutheran Orthodoxy, is unsurpassed unto this day as a systematic exposition of the contents of the Lutheran Confessions. Thus it can be used as an introduction to the theology of the Lutheran Confessions as well as a summary thereof, helpful for students of theology as well as for pastors looking for a reliable source of traditional Lutheran theology.

Each *locus* consists of many very short catechetical questions and answers, progressing from general summaries for the "beginner" to specific and complex problems for the educated theologian. Therefore the *Compendium* can be excellently used as a daily companion for the pastor's devotional and theological life. This way it can be of help for regaining knowledge of long forgotten theological Latin or German even if time allows only for reading short portions each day. By reading Hütter's short portions of text aloud and by repeating them, the memory and mindset of the reader will be shaped and filled with living theological truths that are very often literally taken from the Scriptures and the Confessions themselves. It is almost superfluous to mention that the intense appropriation of a work like this will also help the preacher to determine and organize his thoughts for sermon preparation.

Of excellent service to the reader and the preacher are the many Bible references printed in the footnotes in addition to those which are made explicit by Hütter himself. The footnotes also include not only the respective locations of the texts which Hütter summarizes from the Book of Concord, but Steiger has the full quotations from the Latin texts of the Confessions printed here. This way the reader can compare and is able to find differences between Hütter and the Confessions (there are some!). Very often also other works by Lutheran reformers are quoted when similarities or parallels to Hütter's text are obvious, especially when topics are discussed which are more or less lacking in the Confessions (like the doctrine of angels).

Another great quality of this edition is bibliographical in nature. Steiger presents all the introductory and dedicatory texts which were connected to Hütter's work during his lifetime; this includes the commendation by Hütter's electoral duke, Christian II, Hütter's several dedicatory texts, and a preface by the editors. We also find a dedicatory poem by Erasmus Schmidt in Greek with a German translation; a dedicatory Latin prayer (*precatio*), also with a German translation; and the introductory text by the theological faculty from Rostock for the first German translation of the *Compendium* by Holstenius (Hütter was not satisfied with his translation, so he made his own version which is printed here); a German translation of Hütter's preface from the nineteenth century; and finally a preface by electoral duke Christian II for the 1602 edition of the Book of Concord, which is closely related to the duke's preface to Hütter's *Compendium*. This way the reader realizes that Hütter's *Compendium* is a result of a complex and fruitful cooperation between theologians, translators, publishers, sponsors, and Christian rulers.

Steiger affirms and enhances this impression at the end of the huge first volume by expounding the interesting history of Hütter's work, including the motifs and causes of its first publication, its reception, and printing history throughout the centuries, which still continues. This way Steiger offers important glimpses into the history of theology in the age of Lutheran Orthodoxy, in which Hütter's *Compendium* was the central dogmatic text book after Melanchthon's *Loci* for almost a cen-

tury, in Saxony even until 1780. It can be proved that "Hütter" was used at high schools all over Germany, for example, in Lüneburg, Gotha, Coburg, Leipzig, Hamburg, Straßburg, Hanau, and Güstrow.

Maybe the biggest surprise for contemporary readers will be the discovery that the great "dogmatic" theologians like Hütter were no theological monarchs or even tyrants (as modern prejudice over against Lutheran Orthodoxy wants it still today), but excellent team workers. To illustrate, Hütter only published the final result of his *Compendium* after the school teacher faculties of the electoral high schools of Saxony and the theological faculty of Wittenberg had had the chance to read through the manuscript and to ask for corrections or additions. The teachers' staff from Meißen and Grimma asked for a chapter on pastoral care (*Seelsorge*), so Hütter added his "*Locus de cruce et consolationibus*." The school in Schulpforta caused Hütter to add a *locus* on Christian freedom. The *Compendium* had an immense impact on generations of Lutheran theologians, church musicians, composers, and poets, including Johann Gerhard, Johann Sebastian Bach, Paul Gerhardt, Paul Fleming, and Johann Matthäus Meyfart (Hütter was mandatory at their schools).

Steiger finishes the first volume with a detailed bibliographical enumeration of all known prints of Hütter's work from 1610 to 2006 and—most beautifully—a facsimile collection of 15 title pages and frontispieces of different editions, including the Tamil translation from 1881, and some portraits of the author. An index of Bible passages is not the least practical help for the reader.

The second volume contains the (rather late) English translation by H. E. Jacobs and G. F. Spieker, published in Philadelphia in 1868. The reader capable of all three languages thus gets a third version, since both translators sometimes stay closer to the Latin, sometimes to the German text. The epilogue by Gerhard Bode, professor of church history at Concordia Seminary, St. Louis, introduces the two translators, their theological careers, and their motivation to translate Hütter. An index of theological keywords in English is added in this volume (whereas the first volume has one for the Latin keywords). Bode concludes his epilogue with the following words on the two Pennsylvania Lutherans: "The translation of Hütter's *Compendium* into English was an integral part of their efforts to define and strengthen Confessional Lutheran theology and identity in the American context" (1143). Being connected with different Lutheran synods of their day, they remind us Lutherans of the twenty-first century that the future of the true Lutheran Church lies neither in surrendering over against liberalism and hedonism nor in a self-forgotten adaptation to enthusiastic evangelicalism, but in the sincere appropriation and confident proclamation of the biblical doctrine in its unaltered fullness. The dogmaticians of the time of Lutheran Orthodoxy teach us that it is beneficial to the church and to the theologian's salvation to reach for this fullness, and that this is possible by saying one thing at a time and by teaching how all doctrines form one unity for the sake of the unadulterated knowledge of Christ. Julius Schniewind once said: "The renewal of the church begins with the renewal of the clergy." With these two volumes Steiger, Bode, and Hütter offer a great resource for this renewal, which is long overdue.

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The Dawkins Delusion? Atheist Fundamentalism and the Denial of the Divine. By Alister McGrath and Joanna Collicutt McGrath. Downer's Grove, Illinois: Intervarsity Press, 2007. 118 pages.

America is hardly a hotbed of atheism. Almost 90 percent of Americans claim to believe in God or at least a "higher power." Despite that fact, in certain contexts, such as the academy, public education, the media, and social reform, it sometimes seems that atheist assumptions have the upper hand. That is, of course, an appearance, not necessarily grounded in reality.

Some atheisms are more cognitive: the idea of God is incoherent. Other atheisms are more protest: the idea of God violates human autonomy or freedom. Some atheisms are both. We see the latter at work in Richard Dawkins's recent polemical work, *The God Delusion*. One of the three leading world intellectuals (according to *Prospect Magazine*, November 2005) and author of *The Selfish Gene* (1976), Dawkins is known for having popularized evolutionary biology, making it accessible to a wider audience.

In *The Dawkins Delusion?* world-renowned Anglican theologian Alister McGrath and his wife Joanna McGrath respond to Dawkins's latest book. They are eminently qualified to do so. Alister McGrath, the primary author, did research in molecular biophysics prior to becoming a theologian, while Joanna McGrath was an experimental psychologist before studying Bible.

Logia readers should keep in mind that while Alister McGrath provides a potent critique of Dawkins's atheism, he, as an evangelical Anglican, accepts and endorses theistic evolution. Some readers may be offended that he does not accept a straightforward approach to Genesis 1–11. Even if one disagrees with the McGraths on the interpretation of Genesis 1–11, however, one can expect to find in this volume a treasure chest of insights in how to approach atheism, and interesting perspectives on the relation between faith and science.

It is important to note that Alister McGrath is opposed to a materialistic approach to evolution—as if chance and natural selection alone could explain the origin of species. In his perspective, the order that lends itself to those very physical and biological laws that govern evolution are dependent for their origin on an "Orderer"—God.

Even the theory of "intelligent design," popular with many today, comes under Alister McGrath's critique. McGrath sees this view, which insists that at their core, biological and physical processes are "irreducibly complex," as a version of the nineteenth-century "God of the gaps" apologetic. In that view, we appeal to God as the explanation for those matters for which

it appears we can offer no scientific explanation. For McGrath, it is the whole cosmos as such and in all its parts which is upheld in mystery. That is where science points us to God. Hence, in rejoinder to "intelligent design" theory, McGrath contends that we need a "comprehensive account of reality" which stresses "the explanatory capacity of the Christian faith as a whole rather than a retreat into ever-diminishing gaps" (29).

Dawkins repeatedly brings up the old canard that religion leads to violence (78). Alister McGrath, it should be noted, grew up in Northern Ireland, which in his youth was plagued by violence (8); as a young man, McGrath himself was inclined to atheism (9). McGrath points out examples where secularism easily lends itself to violence, and that Jesus' stance of peace simply has yet to be put into practice (78 ff.).

McGrath notes that many in the hard sciences, for example, physics and chemistry, are believers (44), and that naturalist presuppositions about God are inherently biased, presupposing their own conclusions (57). Dawkins presents religious believers as ignorant fanatics, dismissing the truth that religion is complex and diverse, not easily stereotyped (60).

For Dawkins, then, faith is "infantile" to a "humanity come of age" (19), and "irrational" (22). The McGraths correctly portray Dawkins as a kind of atheist "fundamentalist," for whom the evidence is simply irrelevant since his mind is already made up. Dawkins reduces the mystery of human nature to its genetics. It is genes which has "created us . . . and their preservation is the ultimate rationale for our existence" (36). What Dawkins fails to see is that the evidence about genes is inconclusive. Rather than affirming that it is genes that control human behaviors, an alternative view can just as well be presented. The "preservation [of genes] is totally dependent on the joy that we experience in reproducing ourselves. We are the ultimate rationale for their existence" (37).

The McGraths write in an engaging, accessible way. They constantly provoke thought without demanding total allegiance to their own views. Even if we disagree with some of the McGraths' perspectives, this book merits attention, since the interface of faith and the natural sciences is likely to increase in this new century.

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Dust to Dust or Ashes to Ashes? A Biblical and Christian Examination of Cremation. By Alvin J. Schmidt. Salisbury, Massachusetts: Regina Orthodox Press, 2005. 134 pages.

Like Socrates, Alvin Schmidt loves awkward questions. His whole academic life has revolved around dealing with difficult questions that often are viewed as inappropriate in polite society. Schmidt has written four books dealing with contentious questions and argumentative subjects: multiculturalism, the role of women in the church and society, the influences of Christianity on Western civilization, and the teachings and failures of Islam. But this latest work on cremation will probably cause the greatest disputes, especially among confessional Lutherans. It is a subject most churchmen do not want to deal with and quickly pass off as an *adiaphoron*, something the Bible does not forbid.

But Schmidt dares to asks the question that if Paul's words in Romans 12:2 ("Do not conform any longer to the pattern of this world") do not apply to cremation, it is difficult to see where they do apply. "The early Christians fully understood that by imitating the Romans by practicing cremation, they would have been conforming to the world of their day" (92). Schmidt argues that this passage from Romans alone provides evidence that the Bible is not silent regarding a practice that is pagan in origin, practiced by pagans, and has a history of numerous advocates who deny the physical resurrection of the body.

Schmidt does not deny that God can resurrect those who have been cremated. He contends that there is a huge difference between what God *can* do and what we *may* do. "Although God nowhere approves of cremation in the Bible, we must remember that He is gracious and all-powerful; therefore, He can indeed resurrect any cremated human being" (122). "If a Christian feels guilty," Schmidt writes, "about having been a part of a decision to cremate someone, assurance should be given that God through His Son Jesus Christ will forgives this sin upon repentance" (123).

Many want to argue that cremation cannot be opposed outright because the Bible does not forbid it. Yet Schmidt in this short book presents compelling and convincing evidence from the Scriptures and Christian tradition that proves cremation is indeed opposed to God's will and command.

A key passage that teaches God's wrath against those who cremate the bodies of the dead is Amos 2:1: "For three transgressions of Moab, and for four, I will not revoke the punishment because he burned to lime the bones of the king of Edom." Schmidt believes that this is a clear denunciation of cremation, one that applies to all people, pagans and God's people alike (37).

Schmidt also deals with the words in the funeral ritual at the graveside where the pastor says, "earth to earth, dust to dust, and ashes to ashes." Some Christians erroneously believe that these words make cremation biblically compatible or a God-pleasing act. However, Schmidt shows that the words "ashes to ashes" do not have a biblical source or precedent. They first became a part of the funeral liturgy in the *Book of Common Prayer* because the formulators believed the words provided rhythmic, poetic alliteration (68). Schmidt suggests that every pastor who does not intend to say that cremation is acceptable would be wise in saying: "earth to earth, dust to dust," and omit the words "ashes to ashes," for the Bible nowhere says that the body will someday turn to ashes. In Genesis 3:19, God told Adam, "For dust you are, and to dust you shall return."

Not using the words, "ashes to ashes," at the grave side has some good Lutheran precedent. The hymn by Michael Weisse, "This Body in the Grave We Lay" (*The Lutheran Hymnal*, 596), first appeared in *Ein New Gesang buchlen,* Jung Bunzlan, 1531,

under the rubric "Special Songs for the Burial of the Dead," entitled "At the Grave." Many Missouri Synod pastors, like A. T. Kretzmann, began their grave side services with words from this hymn:

> Now lay we calmly in the grave
> This form, whereof no doubt we have
> That it shall rise again that day,
> In glorious triumph o'er decay
>
> And so to earth again we trust
> What came from dust and turns to dust,
> And from the dust shall surely rise,
> When the last trumpet fills the skies.
>
> (This translation is from *Evangelical Lutheran Hymn-Book*, Concordia Publishing House)

Confessional Lutheran pastors, like Kretzmann and others, never said "ashes to ashes" at the grave side.

It is interesting to note that this hymn is not found in the Lutheran Church—Missouri Synod (LCMS) hymnbook, *Lutheran Worship*, or in the Wisconsin Evangelical Lutheran Synod hymnal, *Christian Worship*. We were glad to see that it was included in the new LCMS hymnal, *Lutheran Service Book*, 759. It can also be found in the Evangelical Lutheran Synod's *Evangelical Lutheran Hymnary*, 476.

All the arguments in this book coincide with what God's people believed about cremation in the Old Testament and what the Christian church has taught and practiced for nearly two thousand years. Schmidt points out that cremation is never a blessing in the Old Testament, but always the result of God's wrath. He says that he would rather be in the company of Christians for two millennia, and with God's people in the Old Testament, than to echo the voices of neopaganism that have invaded our midst with this practice of cremation.

Schmidt concludes his study of this subject of cremation with some striking and soul-searching words:

> I did not write this book to indict Christians or to make them feel guilty, but rather to show them biblically and theologically that cremation, contrary to what most Christian clergy and denominations say today, does not have God's approval. The book was written to encourage Christians not to conform to this world (Rom 12:2), so that they will continue to bury their dead, as did their Christian ancestors for almost two thousand years. Christians must not in ignorance assist in bringing back an age-old pagan practice that symbolically detracts and undermines the cardinal doctrine of Christianity—the physical resurrection of the body. In short, cremation is not an *adiaphoron*, as many clergy have either explicitly told their members or led them to believe indirectly. For Christians, cremation simply is not a God-pleasing option. As James Fraser, a Christian pastor, has written, "Burial is the only God-given way of honorably disposing of the dead." For him, as for all Christians, there is no question about the nature of cremation: "Is cremation Christian? Positively no! It is of heathen origin . . . a barbarous act, also anti-biblical; therefore, *unchristian*!" (123)

One should carefully study what Schmidt writes on the topic of cremation. The Bible teaches that "our bodies are not our own" (1 Corinthians 6), and just as we should not join our bodies with a harlot, so we should not dispose of them in any way that we think best, believing that it does not matter. We live in a day and age when there is little or no respect for things sacred. The sacred chancel in the church, with crucifix, altar, and font, becomes a stage for a praise band for entertainment. The pulpit from which God's word is proclaimed to his people is either completely removed or becomes a podium from which the "preacher" tells jokes and stories about his life. The hallowed communion vessels, containing the very blood of Christ, "given and poured out for our sins," are replaced with cheap plastic cups that can be thrown out with the Monday trash. And should our Christian bodies, "the temples of the Holy Ghost" (1 Cor 6:19), be cremated? God forbid! From the very beginning Christians always spoke of their buried dead in words that conveyed a high degree of comfort and solace. They buried the bodies of their loved ones, into "God's acre." They saw cremation as unbiblical, unthinkable, and sacrilegious (50).

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The Preached God: Proclamation in Word and Sacrament. By Gerhard Forde. Edited by Mark C. Mattes and Steven D. Paulson. Lutheran Quarterly Books. Grand Rapids, Michigan: William B. Eerdmans, 2007.

This is the third book in the outstanding Lutheran Quarterly Books series, devoted to collecting the occasional essays and sermons of the late Gerhard Forde (1927–2005). Forde's work was dedicated to the proposition that theology is for proclamation. In fact, his 1990 book bears that title, *Theology is For Proclamation*. The essays in this present volume are all variations on that central theme, arranged under three headings: (1) God Preached and Not Preached; (2) Doing the Word; and (3) Called to Freedom. Editors Mark Mattes and Steven Paulson have provided a lengthy and helpful introduction to the work of their teacher. A concluding anthology of fourteen sermons and chapel homilies round out the book, amply demonstrating that Forde preached as he taught, giving voice to the God who elects the ungodly.

The editors serve up a rich fare of Gerhard Forde's writings that are sure to challenge, edify, and provoke. Forde demonstrates his craft as a Luther scholar in "When the Old Gods Fail: Martin Luther's Critique of Mysticism," while at the same time showing Luther's helpfulness in an age such as ours that is launched on a seemingly unending quest for spirituality. His

ability at making the crucial distinction of the law from the gospel is evident in "Fake Theology: Reflections on Antinomianism Past and Present." Addressing debates on homosexuality in his own church body (Evangelical Lutheran Church in America), Forde reveals a necessary polemical edge. "The Lutheran View of Sanctification" argues that "sanctification, if it is to be spoken of as something other than justification, is perhaps best defined as the art of of getting used to the unconditional character of justification wrought by the grace of God for Jesus' sake" (226). An essay on "Lutheran Faith and American Freedom" is must reading for pastors who are tempted to contextualize Lutheran theology and practice by adapting the "style" of American Evangelicalism.

As the subtitle suggests, this is a book that tends to proclamation in word and sacrament. "Preaching the Sacraments" is a welcome aid in assisting preachers in moving beyond preaching about the sacraments to understanding preaching itself as God's speaking and bestowing his gifts in the earthly voice of the preacher. "Preaching is doing the text to the hearers" (91), not merely explaining or describing liturgical activity. "Something to Believe: A Theological Perspective on Infant Baptism" is a careful nuanced apologetic for the "evangelical necessity" of baptizing infants. An article on the Sacrament of the Altar, "The Lord's Supper as the Testament of Jesus," is a systematic treatment of the conceptuality of the "last will and testament" and hence the gospel character of the Lord's Supper. "Absolution: Systematic Considerations" argues that "the only solution to the problem of the absolute is actual absolution" (152). Forde writes, "It is the purpose of theology, therefore, to lead us to see that and to drive us to do the absolution authorized by the crucified and risen one, actually to break the silence of eternity and say: Your sins are forgiven for Jesus' sake" (162).

The Preached God: Proclamation in Word and Sacrament will take its place with two other Forde books, *On Being a Theologian of the Cross* and *The Captivation of the Will* for use in the classroom here at Concordia Theological Seminary. It is highly recommended as a refresher for seasoned pastors as well.

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Crossing the Divide: Luther, Feminism, and the Cross. By Deanna A. Thompson. Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2004. 184 pages. Paper. $18.00

Many feminists believe that Christ's atonement glorifies violence and abuse and is harmful to women. Some believe that if women are to be "treated respectfully within a religious tradition" they "must abandon Christianity." They see feminism to be "the death-knell of Christianity as a viable religious option [for women]." These individuals see Christianity entrapped in a "male mode of thinking," and reject the atonement, the cross, and Jesus' maleness. They replace "male" theology with a "thealogy" that is women-centered, which returns to "the image of the goddess, the female deity who embodies and affirms female characteristics" (99).

Deanna Thompson, a reformist feminist, believes that while Christianity has oppressed and excluded women, yet it is "capable of proclaiming inclusive, liberating, salvific messages for them." She and other reformist feminists "struggle to give birth to a vision of a cross theology that is at once feminist and in the spirit of Luther." Her reformist feminist methodology (1) attempts to name the problem in order to acknowledge, analyze, and delegitimatize Christianity's oppressive patterns; (2) seeks biblical narratives that counter Christianity's patriarchy; and (3) reconstructs "all the basic symbols of the Christian faith to be equally inclusive of both women and men" in a way which liberates (99–100).

The first three chapters expound Luther's theology of the cross, interacting with Gerhard Forde's *On Becoming a Theologian of the Cross*. Using a "contextual" hermeneutic, Thompson studies Luther in his medieval setting. She examines Luther's theology of the cross as a tool for changing the oppressive church structures of his day, and as it intersects with the church and feminist theology today. Some of the comments from Luther's later life about the Jews are criticized, as are feminist voices which succumb to "an anti-Jewish bias" by rejecting Jesus' Jewish maleness (104, 124–127).

Thompson emphasizes the proper distinction between law and gospel, and forensic justification rather than the view of the "New Perspectives on Paul" and the disciples of Karl Holl. These groups incorrectly teach that justification is "analytic," that is, faith is one's covenant faithfulness to God, and justification is a gradual process of increasing holiness and sanctification that proves one righteous in God's sight. This position is like that of late medieval theologians who believed Christ had replaced Moses as a new lawgiver (7–13, 83, 114–115, 132).

Luther's theology of the cross emphasizes the law's breaking down of sinners and God's restoring and healing through the gospel. The justifying work of Christ (not human covenant faithfulness, not gradual processes of spiritual healing) is central to the theology of the cross.

Thompson, a Lutheran, misses the cross-centered nature of the Sacrament of the Altar, Christ's last will and testament, which demands the suffering and death of the testator. She also agrees with Luther's opponents who critiqued his views on ubiquity and the real presence (73).

Thompson incorrectly applies Luther's simile describing God "like a mother" caressing "her child." Thompson says that "this image of a God who cares for her children with the fiercely tender love of a mother is one of Luther's most evocative images of God" (89). But Luther did not call God "her." He used a simile—God is like a mother. God hurts for his children like a mother hurts for her children. This does not make God a "her."

The second part of Thompson's book examines the differences between feminists and Luther in the areas of sin, Jesus' maleness, and atoning work on the cross. Thomson avoids the feminist belief that sees women only as the oppressed victim, and recognizes both women and men as oppressors (152).

Some feminists believe they have "no need for Christianity, especially in its Lutheran form" because Luther's description of sin "applies to men, but not to women" (106–107). Others reject Luther's cross theology, believing they can empower women to "live without trials" in their lives (110). This perspective contradicts the reality of the broken and sinful condition of the world. Some feminists struggle with the "maleness" of Jesus to the point of replacing Christ with "Christa," a nude female figure on the cross. Some feminists believe that "no one was saved by the execution of Jesus" (ix, 128). In response, one reformist feminist theologian wrote that such statements are a "decrucifixion of Jesus" which must be rejected because they (1) diminish the seriousness of Christ's suffering and death; (2) downplay the reality of sin, suffering, and evil; (3) attack the divinity of Jesus and the power of his resurrection; (4) reduce Jesus to a moral example; and (5) are a theology of glory for they do not call things what they are (122). The theology of the cross calls things what they are, a theology of glory does not (23).

Thompson discusses the merits and demerits of feminist theology and Luther's theology of the cross, while attempting to hold them in dynamic tension. She argues that Luther and modern feminists are "unlikely allies" sharing a common methodology, hermeneutic, and antipathy to glory theology (101–103). Thompson's criticisms of some parts of feminist theology are very interesting reading!

Thompson's feminist critique of Luther and Christianity needs to be read carefully. At times the abuse of the theology of the cross is treated as though it is an integral part of that theology. There are also things which reformist feminists criticize that Christians need carefully to heed or they will fail to see their own sins, faults, and improper applications of sound theology.

Thompson proposes "A Way Forward" to bridge the gap separating Luther and feminism in the areas of sin, Jesus' maleness, and the atonement (114–115; 124–127; 135–138). These "ways forward" form her preliminary attempts at "crossing the divide" and at "Becoming a Feminist Theologian of the Cross" (139 ff.). These chapters are worth the price of the book.

Thompson sees Christ as the Savior of the hurting, the oppressed, and the oppressor. He is able to help because he suffered at our sinful hands. All were his oppressors and caused him to be a Victim. Jesus confronts sinners (women and men) with the law to break them, and blesses and comforts the penitent with gospel hope and healing. Sarah, Hagar, and Mary Magdalene are biblical examples of women whose stories can help hurting women today.

Thompson, however, fails to see that in holy baptism God bestows the rebirth of the image of God so that one does not need to find it in re-imagings of Christ as female, and so forth (126). This book reminds one that Christian theology can become fragmented into women's theology, male theology, liberation theology, and so forth, instead of being seen as the religion inclusive of all since Christ died for all.

This book should be read because in it a feminist theologian engages rather than rejects out of hand the atonement, justification, Jesus' maleness, Luther's theology of the cross, and so forth. This book should as well encourage more conservative Lutheran theologians to study and interact with the broad range of feminist theology. Thompson's book, like Mary Solberg's *Compelling Knowledge: A Feminist Proposal for an Epistemology of the Cross*, should be read by those interested in Luther's theology of the cross and feminist theology. All will not agree with these authors, but they seriously engage feminism and Christ's atoning work in challenging and thought-provoking ways.

Thompson's book should also be read in the broader context of the questions that have arisen about the relationship of violence to Christ's atoning work on the cross in liberation, Black, women's, and minority theologies. Questions have also arisen as to whether monotheistic religions like Christianity are inherently violent and oppressive. Books such as Hans Boersma's *Violence, Hospitality, and the Cross: Reappropriating the Atonement Tradition* and John Joseph Collin's *Does the Bible Justify Violence?* and those of René Girard are works which raise or deal with those questions. Thompson's book should be read and studied in that context.

The theology of the cross reveals the Christ who suffers and dies for sinful human beings (men and women alike), confronts sinners with the law, calls them to repentance, and redeems them. As the resurrected, victorious Son of God Christ lives to forgive, help, and comfort the hurting in their time of need. He assures all that the sorrows of this world will end, and that in his dying and rising, we also die and rise to conquer pain, brokenness, sin and death.

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Lutherans Against Hitler: The Untold Story. By Lowell C. Green. St. Louis, Missouri: Concordia Publishing House, 2007. 394 pages.

This book is truly masterful. Not only does it provide a finely researched and artfully crafted history of confessional Lutheran resistance to the Nazis but it also sustains a defense of the traditional Lutheran "orders of creation" approach to theology and ethics, a topic that continues to be pertinent today. Once you pick this book up, you won't want to put it down. One senses, early on, Green's thorough engagement with his subject matter. He leaves no stone unturned. We receive new insight after new insight as Green debunks the canards that have been perpetrated by more liberal theologians or historians about Protestant sellout to the Nazis or the tendency to focus solely on Barthian resistance to the Nazis.

As a relatively youthful graduate student in Erlangen in the 1950s, Green studied with Elert, Althaus, von Loewenich, Künneth, Baumgärtel, and W. Mauer. He observed their processing of their own recent history with and response to the Nazi movement, and their reports about their associates' responses (which Green subsequently verified). Shifting the focus away

from the "confessing church" movement to that of confessional Lutheranism, Green opens new vistas for an assessment of a church under siege. Elert and Althaus tried to work with the Nazi-sponsored *Deutsche Evangelische Kirche* (DEK), attempting to see it as relatively harmless. With greater insight, Sasse and Friedrich Ulmer saw the DEK as a Trojan horse, a sellout to pagan ideology and as a reformulation of a union church, a threat to Lutheran confessional integrity.

The land churches of Bavaria, Hanover, and Würtemberg did not fall to the Nazis, unlike the old Prussian Union, which did. Within the confessing church movement, "*Brüder-Räte*" were established in opposition to Nazi influence within the church. Conservative Lutherans tended to see such responses as reflecting as much the Prussian Union within the confessional church and established their own "Luther Councils." Green convincingly shows that many theologians, such as Elert and Althaus, often presented in a negative light, simply offered a pretense of support to the Nazis largely with the intent of mitigating further evil. Not having to deal with the tyranny that these theologians faced on an hourly basis, we are self-righteous when we criticize such men in light of the agonizing decisions and inescapable compromises which anyone under those circumstances would have to make.

Wanting a solid platform against Nazi racism and other forms of violence, confessional Lutherans could not accept the Barmen Declaration since, as a Barthian document, it confused law and gospel, undermined the two-governances teaching, and failed to acknowledge God's providential traces in creation. The DEK was sanctioned by the Loccum Manifesto of 26 May 1933, honoring a place for several reformational confessions, Lutheran, Reformed, Union, within its life. Hitler sought one Protestant church and one Reichbishop. After mounting pressure, the elected bishop, Friedrich von Bodelschwingh, resigned and was replaced by Hitler's favorite, Ludwig Müller. Müller quickly alienated church constituencies by incorporating church youth work into the Hitler Youth. He lost his prestige and power very quickly after that move.

Several pastors such as Ernst Moehring, Heinrich Frick, and Willy Stärk opposed Nazi racism and suffered dire consequences (117). Elert was horrified by the level of violence unleashed with *Kristallnacht* (146). The Lutheran Bethel Confession — a response to the Nazis — was deemed too Lutheran by Barth (163). It made clear that the Bible acknowledges differences amongst tribes and peoples but has no notion of race (169). Likewise, in opposition to Ludwig Müller's conviction that we are saved by duty, the Bethel Confession affirmed that we are saved by faith alone (172).

Counter to Barth's locating all truth within the "word" — something not, for Barth, identical with the same reality as the written Holy Scriptures — confessional Lutherans sought to defend the orders of creation as a *locus* of God's providence (200 ff.). Only in this way can politics remain for the ordering, not the salvation, of life. Ironically, the Barthians and the German Christians advocate a political theology, a "theocratic enthusiasm," albeit differently expressed for each. Perhaps only with Green might we find the (convincing) judgment that with the category of theocratic enthusiasm, there are crucial similarities to be found between Hitler and Barth (!) (236).

When we go the route of Barth and toss away the creation as a means of God's revelation and order, then, in Green's judgment, First Article concerns are turned over to the social sciences or political activism (223), with their attendant fanaticisms and obscurities. The Lutheran distinction between law and gospel honors God's providential action in creation and lends it as a place for learning about how God provides for us. Green is adamant: we need a serious rediscovery of a doctrine of creation (223).

In the final chapters, Green offers detailed histories of the land churches under Hitler and the Erlangen Theological Faculty during the Third Reich.

The Lutheran movement was anything but passive with respect to Hitler. Courageous leaders prevented the Nazis from absorbing Lutheran Churches into the Reich Church. In a sense, Nazi ideology and propaganda provided an alternative, pagan "church," if you will, for many Germans. Many had no choice but to follow the Nazi lead once they were in power.

This book is a must read not only for people of German descent or Lutherans, but for anyone interested in stories of resistance to tyranny. It is a fitting contribution from a *magister* of the Evangelical-Lutheran confession.

Mark C. Mattes

Briefly Noted

Principles of Lutheran Theology. By Carl Braaten. Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2007. 179 pages.

Braaten wrote *Principles of Lutheran Theology* in 1983, and it has since been widely used as a college level introduction to Lutheran thought from an Evangelical Catholic perspective. In the earlier edition, Braaten identified seven Lutheran principles: canonical, confessional, ecumenical, christocentric, sacramental, law/gospel, and the two kingdoms. The revised edition adds to these *loci* the Trinitarian principle. Braaten writes with a sprightly clip making him enjoyable to read. He states his case with clarity. His polemic is clear, as for example, when he describes the new pluralistic theology as "the warmed over liberal Protestantism of von Harnack and Troeltsch" (91). The weakest chapter is his treatment of the "canonical principle" (his attempt to hold on to both an historical-critical methodology and sola scriptura is not convincing) while his chapters on law/gospel and the two kingdoms are both strong and helpful.

Luther's Spirituality. Edited and translated by Philip D. W. Krey and Peter D. S. Krey. The Classics of Western Spirituality Series. New York: Paulist Press, 2007. 296 pages.

Examples of Luther's writings on spirituality are arranged under three headings: (1) Luther's Spirituality in a Late-Medieval Context. (2) Teaching the New Spirituality, and (3) A New Path to Prayer. The editors, for the most part, let Luther speak for himself, showing both continuity with and change from the traditional practices associated with late-medieval Christianity. Luther's letters and his exposition of the Psalms are key texts used to demonstrate that Luther not only taught the faith but prayed the faith and lived it out under temptation and cross. A helpful preface by Timothy Wengert sets Luther in context and identifies key themes in Luther's spirituality.

The Scandalous Cross: The Use and Abuse of the Cross. By V'tor Westhelle. Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2006. 180 pages.

V'tor Westhelle, a Brazilian theologian teaching at the Lutheran School of Theology at Chicago, is the author of this critical and often poetic restatement of the theology of the cross. Engaging both philosophical and theological attempts—both ancient and contemporary—to evade the utter scandal of the death of Jesus by crucifixion, Westhelle seeks to avoid every "speculative Good Friday" (Hegel) so that the blunt word of the cross may be spoken and heard, thus creating space for a genuine resurrection.

The Reading and Preaching of the Scriptures in the Worship of the Church: Volume 6: The Modern Age. By Hughes Oliphant Old. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2007.

Beginning with the late eighteenth century and continuing through 1960, the Reformed liturgical scholar Hughes Oliphant Old gives selective snapshots into the life of preachers and the nature of preaching in the modern period in volume six of a projected seven-volume series. Lutherans will find especially interesting his coverage of Wilhelm Löhe, Claus Harms, F. C. D. Wyneken, C. F. W. Walther, Wilhelm Sihler, Dietrich Bonhoeffer, and Helmut Thielicke. This is a long book—just shy of 1000 pages—but Old is an engaging writer and he generally does a good job of telling the story of representative preachers and their preaching.

Spirituality Old and New: Recovering Authentic Spiritual Life. By Donald G. Bloesch. Downers Grove: IVP Academic Press, 2007.

Donald Bloesch is one of the most prolific writers among contemporary Evangelical theologians. He writes as a seasoned teacher and theologian who has spent his professional career as a nuanced conservative on the faculty of a mainline Presbyterian seminary (Dubuque Theological Seminary in Iowa), giving him plenteous contacts with both traditionalist and revisionist scholars. The diversity of his connections and conversations are apparent in his latest book, *Spirituality Old & New: Recovering Authentic Spiritual Life*. He rightly draws a sharp contrast between what he calls "mystical religion" and "biblical religion," noting that in the Scriptures, faith is a gift that is worked *extra nos*, while mysticisms of various stripes are centered in the self. Bloesch examines "the new spirituality," contending that, in large part, it represents a rebirth of ancient paganisms. He sees this spirituality as contradicting the worldview of orthodox Christianity at its very heart, Christology. He writes, "Feminist spirituality also by and large represents a rebirth of Gnosticism in which the key to personal and spiritual renewal lies in developing a higher form of consciousness. A more recent manifestation of the growing spiritual revolution is the Emerging Church, reflecting again the drift toward an amorphous mysticism and relativism" (32). Given the fact that Bloesch is so obviously well-read in this area, one is surprised that current Lutheran critiques of spirituality by James Kittelson, Gene Edward Veith, Scott Hendrix, Paul Rorem, Gerhard Forde, and Hans Hillerbrand are missing. Read in tandem with David Wells's *Above All Earthly Pow'rs: Christ in a Postmodern World*, Bloesch's book will serve the pastor or interested layperson well.

Protestant Theology at the Crossroads: How to Face the Crucial Tasks for Theology in the Twenty-first Century. By Gerhard Sauter. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2007. 188 pages.

Sauter, a professor of systematic and ecumenical theology at Bonn, writes as an advocate for the recovery of dogmatic theology. In this volume he engages both those who see contextual theology as a replacement for dogmatic theology as well as those who would substitute "public theology" for theology as a churchly enterprise. Sauter persuasively argues that "dogmatics guards truly the faithful independence of theology" over against all attempts to see theology as derived from specific cultural, political, or philosophical settings. Identifying himself as a "mongrel of German confessionalism" with roots both in Lutheran and Reformed traditions, Sauter draws significantly on Luther, Barth, and the Barmen Confession. While his doctrinal conclusions are often not consistent with the Lutheran Confessions, his critique of the abandonment of dogmatics for novel approaches to theology is most welcome.

JTP+

Logia Forum

Short Studies and Commentary

Someone Has to Explain It to You

This sermon, based on Acts 8:26-40, was preached to the pastors who gathered in Guntur, Andhra Pradesh, India in January 2007 for the First Annual Telugu Lutheran Pastors Symposium on Preaching.

We meet Philip for the first time in Acts chapter 6. He is one of the seven men chosen to serve as the first deacons of the church in Jerusalem. Together with Stephen and five other men, he was responsible for the daily distribution of food to the widows and orphans. Two chapters later we hear that Philip went and preached the Gospel in Samaria. He did many miracles there. So by the time we get to the story of Philip and the Ethiopian eunuch, Philip is already a well-known leader of the church, and he has already been reaching out beyond Jerusalem.

Philip was a busy man. At first it might seem like a waste of time for him to go out into the desert, but does this story remind you of Jesus' parable of the lost sheep? The good shepherd leaves the ninety-nine, and goes off in search of the one lost sheep. The point is that God cares about you as an individual.

Now the Ethiopian eunuch had just been in Jerusalem. It would have been easier for Philip to talk to him while he was right there in town, but that is not how the Lord chose to do this. Sometimes God does not seem to be that concerned about time management and efficient use of resources. "My ways are not your ways, neither are your thoughts My thoughts," declares the Lord.

Why did the Ethiopian make the long trip to Jerusalem in the first place? Did some Jews back in Ethiopia encourage him to make the trip? According to Numbers 12, Moses married a wife from Ethiopia. And according to ancient tradition, when the Queen of Sheba came to see Solomon, she was from Ethiopia. So it is possible that there were people in Ethiopia who knew the God of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob. But St. Luke simply tells us that the Ethiopian eunuch had come to Jerusalem "to worship."

While he was in Jerusalem he must have acquired a copy of the book of Isaiah. In those days that was not cheap or easy to do. There was no Jerusalem Bible Society. There were no Gideons to leave a Bible in this man's hotel room. Did he spend his own money on a copy of the book of Isaiah? Or did the Queen pay for it? We don't know.

St. Luke says Philip heard the man reading from Isaiah. In other words, he must have been reading out loud. That was commonly done in those days. And he probably was not reading and driving at the same time—even though there are people who try to do that today. It seems likely that someone else was driving the chariot, so his driver was able to listen while he was reading out loud from the book of Isaiah.

We do not know if the scroll of Isaiah was written in Hebrew or in Greek, but it probably was not written in Ethiopian. Maybe that is why the Ethiopian needed someone to explain it to him. Philip asked him, "Do you understand what you are reading?" "How can I," he said, "unless someone explains it to me?"

That is the key point I want to emphasize today. Someone has to explain it to you. This is why God sends pastors and missionaries to proclaim the Gospel. God also gives us the Bible. But God knows that we need more than a book. Someone has to explain it to you. Very seldom does a person sit down to read the Bible, and immediately understand what he is reading. The book and the preacher go together. Either one without the other is incomplete.

But it is not just pastors who explain it to you. Maybe the first people to explain it to you are your Mom and Dad. Maybe they teach you to sing, "Jesus loves me, this I know, for the Bible tells me so." Or don't you have that song in Telugu? When you get a little older, you come to Sunday School. Once again, someone has to explain it to you. Your Sunday School teacher does not expect you to read the Bible all by yourself. No, your Sunday School teacher tells you the story, and

explains how it fits into your life today. This process continues as you start confirmation class. You study Luther's Small Catechism. Although he has been dead for 460 years, Martin Luther still teaches you to ask good questions: "What does this mean?" "How is this done?" "Where is this written?" Luther's explanations are always very practical and specific. He wants you to be ready for the day when you get a chance to explain to someone else. You never know when it will happen, but sooner or later it will happen. Someone will ask you a question, like the question the Ethiopian eunuch asked Philip.

What an honor for Philip to be invited to ride with the Ethiopian in his chariot. Most ordinary Ethiopians never got to ride in that chariot. But in this case, neither man was concerned about social status. This is how the gospel can cross the boundaries between different cultures and different classes of people.

The eunuch was reading was from Isaiah 53. Do you think he had started at chapter one verse one, and read all the way through the first 52 chapters? How long would it take you to do that, if you had to read it in some language other than Telugu? Let's give this man credit for perseverance. If he was having trouble understanding what he was reading, he could have gotten discouraged. He easily could have quit, long before he got to chapter 53. But this man did not give up.

Here we have another one of God's miracles of timing: Philip just happened to catch up with this man when he was reading chapter 53. The Ethiopian asked a very good question: "Tell me, please, who is the prophet talking about, himself or someone else?" So it was easy for Philip to explain that Isaiah was talking about Jesus' sufferings, death and resurrection. Isaiah says, "He was wounded for our transgressions. He was bruised for our iniquities. The punishment that brought us peace was upon him. And by his stripes we are healed. All we like sheep have gone astray. We have turned every one t o his own way. And the LORD has laid on him the iniquity of us all. He was led like a sheep to the slaughter, and as a lamb before the shearer is silent, so he did not open his mouth. In his humiliation he was deprived of justice. Who can speak of his descendants? For his life was taken from the earth."

Then Philip began with that very passage of Scripture, and told him the good news about Jesus. But we are not told exactly what Philip said. What would you say? How would you explain it to someone else? If you want to give someone an easy place to start, you could simply recite the Second Article of the Apostles Creed. Just remember this: If someone asks you to explain about Jesus, you probably know more than he does. So just speak from your heart. You may not be able to answer all of his questions, but you don't have to. Just tell him what you know and what you believe.

As Philip and the Ethiopian traveled along, they came to some water. The eunuch asked to be baptized. How did he know what baptism was? Do you think Philip told him about the sacrament of Holy Baptism? Philip was doing exactly what Jesus had told hs disciples to do: "Go and make disciples of all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit." Do you think the eunuch was the only one to get baptized? Or did his driver receive Holy Baptism also? The Bible does not tell us. Maybe Philip baptized the eunuch, and then Philip disappeared, and then the Ethiopian may have baptized his driver.

So what ever became of this Ethiopian Christian? The Bible does not say. But I did a search on the internet and found a couple of interesting web sites. They say that Ethiopia was the first country in Africa to become a Christian nation. The history of the Ethiopian Christian Church goes back to the early fourth century — and maybe it goes all the way back to this Ethiopian eunuch, who was baptized by Philip.

You and I are here today because there is a long line of people stretching all the way back to the Apostles. Many pastors and missionaries have faithfully handed down the gospel from one generation to the next. Just as Jesus opened the Scriptures for the two travelers on the way to Emmaus, so Philip explained the Scriptures to the Ethiopian eunuch. But we are never told what the eunuch's name was. Most of God's baptized people never did become famous. But millions of people have come to believe in Jesus because someone explained the gospel to them. Because someone has explained it to you, you can explain it to someone else. God bless you as you do.

In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit. Amen.

MJA

"They're Back!"

Below is an extract from the daily e-mail devotion "Memorial Moment." To subscribe: http://www.mlchouston.org/

In an article by R.R. Reno entitled "The Return of the Fathers" in *Higher Things* (November 2006), he exults that the study of the ancient church fathers is making a comeback in church circles and universities as well. Well might he rejoice, for the return of the fathers also coincides with the growing sense that modern religious and textual studies are now collapsing of their own ponderous self-referential weight. I began a paper delivered a few years ago at the Pieper Lectures with the blunt statement, "The historical critical method is dead." But then what is left? What can rise out of that debris and detritus forced on biblical study by the Enlightenment with its methodological claims to objectivity and externality to the text? Reno suggests that the total involvement in the text exhibited by the church fathers should rise and is rising from the ashes of twentieth century critical studies, or even surmounting them. While we would not agree with Reno's whole post-critical program of study of the Bible through the lens(es) of the fathers, he is correct that the involvement of the fathers in the text itself, is what is decisive. They are not above

the text, but under it and subject to it. Indeed, for the fathers all things are subject to that text, which claims to be the speaking of God.

No wonder then that the fathers often exhibit such powerful insights into the Word of God. Hilary of Poitiers certainly is an example of such insights. If anyone doubts the value of reading the fathers, he should merely be challenged to read them. If once such a person mined the golden riches of the church fathers' writing, the conclusion could never be drawn that these men were only irrelevant, legalistic, or unhelpful. Yes, at times they can be unhelpful, legalistic, and irrelevant. But which of us is always helpful, gospel-centered, and relevant? Reading with discernment is part of reading the church fathers.

The fathers exhibit the application of the Word of God to the needs of the real church. They are not professors or university teachers, but pastors and bishops intimately involved in the daily shepherding of the Christian church. The Word was not a datum to be scrutinized and judged, but the speaking of God to His holy bride, the church. Such living vibrancy bursts out of the language of Hilary of Poitiers in his On the Trinity when he wrote of the glory of the crucified Son of God.

"How was the Son to be glorified? He had been born of a virgin, from cradle and childhood He had grown to man's estate, through sleep and hunger and thirst and weariness and tears He had lived man's life Even now He was to be spitted on, scourged, crucified. And why? These things were ordained for our assurance that in Christ is pure man. But the shame of the cross is not ours; we are not sentenced to the scourge, nor defiled by spitting. The Father glorifies the Son. How? He is next nailed to the cross. Then what followed? The sun, instead of setting, fled. How so? It did not retire behind a cloud, but abandoned its appointed orbit, and all the elements of the world felt that same shock of the death of Christ. The stars in their courses, to avoid complicity in the crime, escaped by self-extinction from beholding the scene. What did the earth do? It quivered beneath the burden of the Lord hanging on the tree, protesting that it was powerless to confine Him who was dying. Yet surely rock and stone will not refuse Him a resting place. Yes, they are rent and split, and their strength fails. They must confess that the rock-hewn sepulcher cannot imprison the body which awaits its burial.

"And next? The centurion of the cohort, the guardian of the cross, cries out, 'Truly this was the Son of God' (Mt 27:54). Creation is set free by the mediation of this sin-offering; the very rocks lose their solidity and strength. They who had nailed Him to the cross confess that truly this is the Son of God. The outcome justifies the assertion. The Lord had said, 'Glorify Your Son' (Jn 17:1). He had asserted, by that word 'Your,' that He was God's Son not in name only, but in nature. Multitudes of us are sons of God; He is Son in another sense. For He is God's true and own Son, by origin and not by adoption, not by name only but in truth, born and not created. So, after He was glorified, that confession touched the truth; the centurion confessed Him the true Son of God, that no believer might doubt a fact which even the servant of His persecutors could not deny" (Hilary of Poitiers, On the Trinity, 3.10-11).

Prayer: Lord Christ, by your subjection to Creation You set it free from the primeval bondage to principalities and powers. Help us to live in that freedom You have delivered to us. Amen.

SRM

Organizing the Church

With the consideration for a special convention at its regular convention this past summer, The Lutheran Church — Missouri Synod appears to be on the brink of a radical realignment of its structure and constitution. Business models and the centralization of power seem to be in the offing, but what of doctrinal considerations? Hermann Sasse provides a perspective worth considering in this excerpt from Here We Stand, *pp. 134-136.*

The Holy Scriptures know nothing of a Christ who gave "general rules" for the organization of the church. Calvin, like the theologians of other churches, read this picture of Christ *into* the New Testament. And just as we do not know this Christ who legislates, who instituted a senatorial, or presbyterian, form of church government for His church in order that His "sole sovereignty" in the church might not be infringed upon, so we do not know the church which can be recognized as a church of Christ by its obedience to His law. We, too, know that the church must obey His commandments — His real commandments, not those which are mistakenly attributed to Him. But this obedience is not part of the nature of the church. For if it were, the church would not owe its existence solely to Him, the Lord who is truly present and active in His Word and Sacrament, but to us as well in consequence of what we are and do.

We have no objection either to church discipline (provided it serves no other purpose — no purpose, for example, like glorifying God — besides that of saving sinners) or to a proper church polity. If the Reformed teaching concerning ecclesiastical government were only intended to remind Christendom that the church should be an ordered church properly to fulfill its task of preaching the Word and administering the Sacraments, this doctrine would be a valuable and arguable contribution to the problem of church government. But it happens not to be intended for that. It claims to indicate — and this claim has not been given up by the Reformed even today, despite all the liberalizing and softening of Calvin's rigid principles — what fundamental commands for the organization of the church the New Testament contains. And as long as it claims to do this, the doctrine is beyond discussion. "A discussion concerning the correctness or applicability of this form of church polity is out of the question for us who are

Reformed" — these words came, in 1929, from the French Reformed Consistory in Berlin — "just as a discussion concerning the dogma of the Trinity or the doctrine of the Sacraments is impossible for every other evangelical Christian. *For us the question of church polity is a confessional question.*" Here, as in the curious "articles of faith" in the Calvinistic Confessions which treat of the equality of pastors and the election of presbyters, the conclusion is expressly drawn, as it must necessarily be drawn whenever the boundary between Law and Gospel is obliterated, that *faith has been turned into obedience, and the Gospel into a new law.*

This has an important effect on the work of the church in the world. According to the common testimony of all church bodies, it is one of its tasks to preach the Law, which includes what our Confessions call the "political use" of the Law. According to the Apology of the Augsburg Confession, since Jesus Christ is not, in His essential nature, a Lawgiver, the Gospel cannot "bring new laws concerning the civil state," but it "permits us outwardly to use legitimate political ordinances of every nation in which we live." According to the Reformed view, on the contrary, the Gospel must be the source of all the laws in society and state. That Jesus Christ, the Lord to whom "all authority hath been given . . . in heaven and on earth," should be manifest before the Last Day when He reveals His glory which is now hidden, the church should see to it that the world obeys His laws, which are contained in the Gospel, even now. In various ways Reformed theologians and churches—Zwingli more than the prudent Calvin, the Puritans in England and America more than the German Reformed—have proclaimed a Theocracy (or "Christocracy," to use the expression of the Reformed theologian, August Lang) and thus set before the church tasks with which the church, as Lutheranism sees it, has nothing to do whatsoever.

JAB

Blurring Distinctions

Steven Ozment, in his work A Mighty Fortress: A New History of the German People, *intimates that Luther may have blurred the distinctions between the two kingdoms, as noted on pages 87-88.*

For Luther the German problem of the sixteenth century was the devil's success in tempting both rulers and clergy, subjects and laity, to sell their souls and shirk their moral and spiritual duties. The politicians did so by permitting injustice and obstructing the Gospel; the ecclesiasts by false assurances of salvation and improper secular ambition; and the general run of humankind by allowing itself to be so easily fooled and cowed by both.

In addition to a foreign, predatory papacy, two other enemies were seen to threaten civic society in the early decades of the Reformation: Catholic rulers who suppressed Protestant religious reforms, and renegade Protestant gospelers and revolutionaries who urged the common man to take up arms for alleged Christian rights.

In pursuit of his goals Luther, too, fatefully blurred the lines of authority and power he himself had drawn. He did so, first, by inviting the Christian nobility of the German nation, as Christian laity, to take up his cause against an intractable Church. In 1523 he commended the example of a lay congregation in the German town of Leisnig for replacing its Catholic priest with a Lutheran pastor of its own choice, praising its action as an appropriate rejection of false "human law, principle, tradition, custom, and habit." If this was a new ecclesiology, it was also a timely rationalization.

Again, in 1528, after Saxon visitations discovered spotty religious knowledge and scant moral improvement among the laity in the country parishes, Luther exhorted the German princes, again as Christians, to become "emergency bishops." In that capacity they were to provide the fledgling Protestant churches with the administration, authority, and force required for their proper maintenance and discipline. Despite qualifying clauses, which stressed the princes' lay status and the exceptional nature of their new powers, that concession set an ominous German precedent.

When, in 1523, princes began persecuting Protestants, Luther attempted in vain to put the genie back into the bottle, lecturing them on "what they might not do." By 1518 German rulers never again — if ever they had — confined their rule solely to body and property. Luther's weaving together of temporal and spiritual power enabled the new church to survive its infancy and pursue its mission in relative safety. It became a more cooperative state church, empowered and eager to mix large doses of religion into civic life through the new schools, welfare system, and domestic arrangements it helped create.

JAB

I Will Put Enmity

Martin Luther produced his "Baptismal booklet put into German" in 1523. The rite begins with this rubric: "The officiant shall blow three times under the child's eyes and shall say: 'Depart thou unclean spirit and give room to the Holy Spirit'" (AE 53:96). This abbreviated form of exorcism calls to mind the first gospel promise, spoken to the serpent while Adam and Eve were eavesdropping, "I will put enmity between you and the woman, between your seed and her seed . . ." Luther drives this point home with an urgent warning and exhortation.

Remember, therefore, that it is no joke to take sides against the devil and not only to drive him away from the little child, but to burden the child with such a mighty and lifelong enemy.

Remember, too, that it is very necessary to aid the poor child with all your heart and strong faith, earnestly to intercede for him that God, in accordance with this prayer, would not only free him from the power of the devil, but also strengthen him, so that he may nobly resist the devil in life and death. And I suspect that people turn out so badly after baptism because our concern for them has been so cold and careless; we, at their baptism, interceded for them without zeal (AE 53:102).

MJA

Peter

As the Confession of St. Peter is celebrated on January 18, this poem seems appropriate for the occasion. *If you want to reprint this poem, please seek permission from the author at her e-mail address:* hillkathrynann@yahoo.com

You are not one of His disciples, are you?
I am not, came the fisherman's reply.
He was a pebble moved by waves of fear then,
But Simon will be Peter by and by.

A slave girl's question made the big man stumble;
Then twice again he told his coward's lie
While waiting in the high priest's chilly courtyard—
But Simon will be Peter by and by.

For Christ told Simon, You shall be called Peter;
And Peter is the name for solid rock;
And after Jesus breathed His Peace on Simon,
The Spirit moved his tongue in faithful talk.

So Peter preached the Gospel as Christ bade him
And followed in the way that Jesus walked
And then stretched out his hands, like Christ before him,
Conforming to the one true Solid Rock.

Kathryn Ann Hill

Reformation and Education

Early on in the Reformation, Erasmus lamented (and not entirely without reason) that, "Wherever Lutheranism prevails, there learning disappears." Luther, Melanchthon and Bugenhagen, however, later went on to reform educational institutions throughout Europe in light of the gospel.

The renaissance of classical Lutheran education in our own day attempts to address concerns that Lutheran education today has imbibed too deeply from the wells of modern progressivism, pluralism and constructivism. The concern is that true learning may be disappearing not only from public schools, but also from Lutheran schools which emulate secular models, methods and philosophies.

Historical perspectives can be of some help. In his 1974 dissertation, Johannes Bugenhagen's Educational Contributions*, Kurt Karl Hendel describes some of the problems and solutions with which the reformers wrestled.*

Luther has been accused of contributing to the educational crisis of the early Reformation period by his bitter condemnation of the contemporary educational methodology and institutions. Indeed, as was typical of Luther, he did criticize corruption and abuse wherever he perceived them, and the educational realm was no exception.

In his *To the Councilmen* Luther castigates the universities and monastic schools as "asses' stalls and devil's training centers" and recommends ". . . that if universities and monasteries were to continue as they have been in the past, and there were no other place available where youth could study and live, then I would wish that no boy would ever study at all, but just remain dumb."

Luther could make such a radical statement because he was convinced that no education was better than bad education, particularly in the religious sphere.

And later in the dissertation, the author notes Bugenhagen's connecting of baptism and education . . .

Parents who bring their children to the baptismal font assume the responsibility of educating these children. Parents who do not fulfill this obligation say with their actions: "The children whom we have offered to Christ in baptism shall not remain His now that they have grown."

For Bugenhagen, baptism and education are intimately related and concomitant steps in the Christian life. God commands both and His command must be obeyed.
It is simply not enough to baptize children and expect them to remain Christians. They must be kept and strengthened in their faith through proper instruction.

The essential purpose and goal of all education, according to Bugenhagen, is to teach people the essentials of the Christian faith and to keep them in their baptismal covenant. This primary goal must shape the whole educational process and all education must in some way serve that purpose. He did not assert, of course, that only religious education was necessary in order to prepare Christians for the fulfillment of their divine calling.

While this theological justification for the necessity of education was, no doubt, sufficient for Bugenhagen, he also presented what he considered to be other cogent reasons for the necessity of education. The corruption which results from a neglect of education of faulty education was such a reason.

This corruption expresses itself basically in two ways: a faulty way of life and a misunderstanding of God's Word. Thus people have been concerned more about accumulating wealth than about using their gifts from God for the benefit of the

needy neighbor. Even if they recognized their error, they have attempted to change their life not through faith and trust in God but through the endowment of cloisters and chapels, through pilgrimages and the purchase of indulgences "which are only beneficial to the seller and not to the buyer . . ."

All these abuses and corruptions have occurred because people do not properly understand their baptismal covenant with Christ. And why do they not understand? Because they are not properly instructed. In order to avoid such abuses, effective education was an absolute necessity, according to Bugenhagen.

The needs of the church and state also loomed large as reasons for the necessity of schools in Bugenhagen's thinking. In the introduction to the Schleswig-Holstein school order of 1542, he states quite simply that schools must be established in order that "we may have people, through whom our descendants receive the pure doctrine, the Gospel, from us, and whom we may employ in the governing of land and people." Like Luther, Bugenhagen was convinced that only an effective educational system could provide the leaders necessary to guide both church and state.

JAB

The Roman Church and the "Improper" Christians

Around 10 July 2007 news was breaking across the international media that the Vatican had again clarified the status of the Roman Church vis-à-vis other Christian denominations. With the blessing of Pope Benedict XVI, William Cardinal Levada, the new Prefect for the Congregation of the Doctrine of the Faith, issued on the Feast of Saints Peter and Paul (29 June 2007) a document entitled "Responses to Some Questions Regarding Certain Aspects of the Doctrine on the Church" (the "Responses"). The "Responses" reiterated the Vatican II doctrinal belief that the "one, holy, catholic and apostolic" church "subsists in the Catholic Church, governed by the successor of Peter and the Bishops in communion with him" and that "ecclesial communities" (Protestant churches) cannot "be called 'Churches' in the proper sense."

From Lutheran quarters, many reactions to this reiteration were predictable. The Lutheran Bishop of the German *Landeskirche* of Hanover, Margot Käßmann, described the "Responses" as a "damper on ecumenism," as a "fiasco," as "allowing the ecumenical seedling to wither," and as "ecumenically fatal" (10 July–epd Dokumenation 2007/30, 21). Ishmael Noko, General Secretary of the Lutheran World Federation (LWF), in rejecting the assertions made in the "Responses" referred to the "common understanding" established in the "Joint Declaration on the Doctrine of Justification (JDDJ) as recognition of a 'decisive step forward on the way to overcoming the division of the church'" (11 July, LWI/EN/2064). Mark S. Hanson, LWF President and Presiding Bishop of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in America (ELCA), wrote that "the 'anguished response of Christians' throughout the world to the Vatican's statement shows that what may have been meant to clarify has caused pain." Hanson asserted that "the ELCA upholds the 'Augsburg Confession, . . . which states that the Church is the 'assembly of saints in which the Gospel is taught and the sacraments are administered rightly'" (11 July, ELCA News 3636). Hanson's statement is true except, if one recalls, that the ELCA is currently conjuring full-communion with the Episcopal Church by sharing bishops in historic superstition. Also, note Hanson's misquotation of Article VII of the Augsburg Confession and his omission that the church exists where the gospel is taught "purely."

For ecumenical realists, the Vatican's deluge of more cold water upon the ecumenical movement comes as no surprise. For example, at a papal audience during the 2005 World Youth Day in Cologne (whose participants could receive a plenary indulgence), Benedict XVI despite mentioning JDDJ reminded representatives from approximately thirty German denominations of the Vatican's exclusive claim on the church and its unity. During that audience, he also referred to his recent sermon on 29 June 2005 in St Peter's Basilica, marking the Feast of Saints Peter and Paul, at which he welcomed a delegation from the Orthodox Church of Constantinople sent by the Ecumenical Patriarch Bartholomew I and described therein the unity of Catholicity and Apostolicity which these two churches share through their sacramental understandings of ordination and thus the sacraments. Likewise, some years previously and more pertinent to the LWF's self-jubilation regarding the technically unsigned JDDJ, then Cardinal Ratzinger on 30 June 2000 issued his "Note on the Expression 'Sister Churches'" which again warmly addressed the Orthodox and willfully reminded many Reformation Protestants of their lesser "ecclesial community" status. Like the "Responses," these fairly recent reiterations underscore the doctrine embodied in Second Vatican Council's Decree on Ecumenism *Unitatis redintegratio*. So, if this "new" news is not new at all, why was the "Responses" issued at this time? More importantly, why has this most recent reiteration received so much media attention?

As just obliquely indicated, when promulgating its declarations and documents, timing for the Vatican is important. Besides striving to instruct or admonish the "faithful," the Vatican is also known for employing timing to mark an anniversary or to make a specific point or both. What symbolic gesture might the "Responses" hope to achieve now?

Although Joseph Ratzinger was ordained a priest on 29 June 1951, that is probably not a weighty enough occasion for him to celebrate in this way even as pope. Perhaps the Vatican wanted to reminisce that in 2005 Benedict welcomed the Orthodox to the Feast of Saints Peter and Paul one decade after Pope John Paul II and Bartholomew I signed a "Common Declaration" on 29 June 1995 setting out their shared conception of the church's sacramental ministry. Over against Protestants, by contrast, the Roman Church might have wanted to over-

shadow the tenth anniversary of the conclusion of the Second European Ecumenical Assembly held in Graz, Austria when on 29 June 1997 representatives from over 150 churches overwhelmingly adopted their "Final Message" expressing the participants' goal of ecumenical reconciliation and visible unity. Cardinal Ratzinger was particularly keen on keeping Catholic, lay, ecumenically oriented, reform movements away from this assembly.

If marking an anniversary or two does not exactly explain the Vatican's recent remarks, perhaps the Prefect for the Congregation of the Doctrine of the Faith was seeking to act preemptively. Viewed cynically, one might speculate that by publicizing its ecclesial credentials in early July, the Vatican was exercising damage limitation on the eve of the $660 million out of court, sexual abuse settlement to be announced by the Roman Catholic Diocese of Los Angeles on 15 July. After all, it is hardly fitting for a "proper church" to play shell games with paedophile priests whose existence calls the sacramental self-understanding of the Roman Church shamefully into question. The "Responses" must, however, be viewed more broadly as issued by the church of the former Holy Roman Empire. Given that Benedict is a native German, given that the 2007 *Evangelischer Kirchentag* (Protestant Church Gathering) was celebrated from 6-10 June in Cologne, given the numerous media reports from the *Kirchentag* that joint celebrations of the Lord's Supper between German Protestants and the Roman Church are not on the horizon, and given the current planning by the German *Evangelischer Kirchentag* and the *Zentralkomitee der deutschen Katholiken* (Central Committee of German Catholics) for the upcoming Second Ecumenical Church Gathering (*Zweiter . . . kumenischer Kirchentag*) to be held in Munich in 2010, it is highly likely that the Vatican wants to fasten the lid tightly on the joint communion pressure cooker before things come to a boil. In the Vatican's view, the pope cannot attribute "Church" status to Protestant churches and their sacraments without calling the Roman Church and his position therein wholly into question. Lest Protestants forget, the abundance of crucifixes in the Roman Church should not and cannot be mistaken for an evangelical theology of the cross which the "Successor of Peter" still denies.

So, if the news generated by the "Responses" is not new, what has led the international media to consider its issuance to be newsworthy at this time? Unlike his predecessor, Benedict XVI, erstwhile Cardinal "Rottweiler" Ratzinger, has not and still does not enjoy the celebrity status of John Paul II. Like many overly optimistic ecumenists, the media view Benedict XVI with suspicion. A spoiler of the free party spirit is always newsworthy, whether in circles of gossip or in the international headlines. Quite simply, Pope Benedict unashamedly believes and enforces Roman ecclesial doctrine, and to the horror of many, the "Vicar of Christ" in Rome truly holds himself and his ecclesial institution to be *de facto* "the way and the truth and the life" (Jon 14:6). The secular media adore as much as the Vatican abhors both inclusive liberalism and religious relativism, which simply makes the Vatican watchdog who has become Pope Benedict an easy target.

In complementary fashion, it pains many Lutheran leaders when the pope repeatedly reminds not just his own flock but also the shepherds of Protestant denominations that doctrine matters. Doctrine not only defines what individuals believe but also describes and directs the nature and mission of any church. Adherence to doctrine seems to befuddle many Lutheran leaders in Europe, at the LWF, and in the ELCA. That explains why such leaders are more flummoxed and frustrated by fellow Lutheran churches that tenaciously and passionately hold to Scripture and the Lutheran Confessions than they are by the pope's ecclesial exclusivity. Whereas the pope must repeatedly instruct such Lutherans regarding what Catholics and Protestants do not share, confessionally-minded Lutheran churches and individuals by their very existence serve to admonish nominal Lutherans regarding what the latter no longer care to share, namely the essential doctrinal belief that the church and its true unity are found by necessity where "the gospel is taught *purely* and the sacraments are administered rightly" (KW, 43, italics added).

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The Batak Protestant Christian Church

"So will my Word be which goes forth from my mouth; it will not return to me empty without accomplishing what I desire, and without succeeding in the matter for which I sent it." Isaiah 55:11

In 1920 the practice of cannibalism ceased among the Batak people of Indonesia. That was a mere eighty-seven years ago. Two American missionaries, Henry Lyman and Samuel Munson of the American Mission Society in Boston, were among those who were eaten by the Batak people.

The Rev. Dr. I. L. Nommensen, a German Lutheran missionary, came to the Batak people in 1850. There were several efforts to kill him also. On one occasion he was tied to a stake and as the spears were lifted there was a huge clap of thunder and a big storm, leading his captors to conclude that his God was greater than theirs, and he was released. On another occasion poisoned food was brought to him, but his suspicious nature led him to feed it to his dog, which died as the sacrifice for his master. This dog was buried next to the Nommensens and is part of the Nommensen Memorial display in the village of Sigumparring.

Today the gospel has taken a firm hold among the Batak people as was promised by the Lord through Isaiah: "My Word will not return void." In the HKBP synod alone there are four million Lutherans, who surprisingly call themselves

the Batak Protestant Christian Church. Together with the fifteen other synods, the "Protestant" Lutherans number over six million.

It is a strange experience to enter a store, hotel, or shop and find the person serving you, more often than not, is a Lutheran. It is also strange to see Lutheran churches dotting the landscape throughout the countryside and in the villages. The average membership for a congregation is 1,000. Some churches have a membership of 5,000 and even 10,000. There are over 3,000 churches but only 1,200 pastors. Many pastors serve four and five congregations.

The 8,000 catechisms and catechism workbooks distributed among the Batak people may seem like a drop in Lake Toba, Indonesia's largest lake in the Batakland. We are counting on the 200 leaders in the church to use them in teaching other pastors and leaders while they wait hopefully for more copies to be printed. Will LHF be able to provide the many thousands that are needed?

Rice, tea, coffee, peanuts, bananas, tomatoes and watermelon farming bring a rich harvest and cause traffic jams as the goods are sold along streets in the villages. We pray that the Lord of the harvest will continue to bring a rich harvest of food and that a rich harvest of souls is also garnered.

We hope that the Batak Lutheran influence will penetrate the south part of Indonesia where Muslims have been prominent and have been active in persecuting Christians. It is said that the Muslim influence has not moved to the north because the Batak people are a feared people — perhaps because of their past history of cannibalism.

Among the 1200 pastors are 200 women pastors. The challenge for the church with a shortage of workers is to define the role of women in the church, which will be more difficult to do objectively after a practice has been established.

Missionary Nommensen is viewed as a king in the Batak land. His picture is seen not only in churches but in public buildings. His contributions included a Bible and the Enchiridion, but the Catechism Enchiridion has become a rare find. For this reason the LHF Bahasa translation has been very well received. When an official of the church was asked about the section on the Office of the Keys and Confession, he indicated that it was not taught at the seminary he attended.

In teaching the catechism during the Batak seminars, Dr. Jacob Preus, President of Concordia University, Irvine, CA, taught the providence of God under the First Article and in the Lord's Prayer in the Third Petition (Thy will be done).

We experienced the providence and will of God on the curvy, narrow, mountain roads when the bus we were riding in was forced off the road. It was providential that none of the ten passengers were hurt. It was also providential that at the time we were not traveling next to one of the many deep ravines encountered on the narrow mountain roads. A large truck traveling too fast for the road, forced our bus to leave the pavement and in doing so we encountered a very soft shoulder that pulled us into the ditch. The bus plunged into the mud and came to rest leaning up against the bank of a cliff preventing it from rolling over. By the next day another bus was brought to our rescue.

It's a simple lifestyle in the villages and rice is the chief food for these people whose average annual income is from $500 to $1,000. We stopped at the roadside and entered a rice field that was being harvested so we could personally take the curved knife and do some of the harvesting. Naturally we discovered that the farmers were Lutheran.

We stopped along the way to visit a Batak home; again it was a Lutheran home that was randomly chosen. Batak houses are unique and carry the style used for hundreds of years. The home is built on stilts and the bottom portion is fenced so that the animals have a place to be kept. Earlier in history, it was the place where slaves were kept. The roof is unique to the Bataks in that it is in a concave shape with a peak at each end. The roof is now made up of tiles or tin, whereas in the past it was straw.

Children are a treasure of the Lord. Where else in the world do the children need to have their own service because of a lack of space? We visited such a church. When we arrived for the eight A.M. worship service there were 300 children singing with their whole heart and soul. The little church was strained to accommodate the young worshipers.

Their parents arrived for their two-hour service at ten A.M. In this service four adult choirs provided special music sung without choral scores. The congregation singing, therefore, was spirited.

There was much excitement over visitors from America, even invitations to preach that were declined. Dr. Preus and I did bring greetings from America after the service and gave a brief message. We were asked to form a line so that all worshipers could come by to greet us with their personal "horas," the traditional Batak greeting. It was the American delegation that was encouraged by their show of graciousness.

The message of the day was given by a deacon as the pastor had to be serving one of his six other congregations. The Lord's Supper was not celebrated and we learned that it is only celebrated twice a year, at Christmas and Easter. This led to some discussion about the frequency of the Lord's Supper. Their concern was that they did not want to lose respect for the sacrament.

The Batak church is living testimony to the Bible's promise: "My Word will not return empty." The further promise is that "it will accomplish what I desire." How is it that this church has shown such growth? Was it a multi-year evangelism program or some specially-devised church-wide effort? From what I observed, it was the plain preaching of the Word, the working together of pastor and people, and the piety of the hearers. This is God's program, not man's.

"My Word will succeed in the matter for which I send it!" Thank God the Indonesian harvest is great. May His Word accomplish in our midst "the purpose for which He sends it."

This is the Lord's doing and it is marvelous in our sight!

I have to confess further that the providence of the Lord was seen in permitting me to have this "Batak experience" just at this time. It came during a time, when just before leaving,

word was received that several of our major funding requests were declined and a message during the trip in this far land reported of another request that was declined.

The visit with the Bataks brought things into perspective and it became my resolve to consider the Bataks' plight and take the Lord's word to heart. His word will succeed in the matter for which he sends it. It is his promise and we rely on it. I believe God will use his people to help us bring in the harvest that waits in many lands and in many languages.

Our programs and our plans alone will not bring success. The Lord will provide the increase. Attached to his word and planted in his soil it will produce a rich harvest.

The Bataks' road is hard and the toil lasts into the night and then the harvest. Pray ye the Lord of the harvest to bless the LHF field work, and pray he richly provides so that our work can go forward in Indonesia and around the world.

This report was written from the large 5,000 seat auditorium at the seminary of the HKBP church in Tarutung, Indonesia, the heart of Batak land, while listening to a self-formed quartet singing the Batak hymns of the church. A special added blessing in the "Batak Experience."

Dr. Robert Rahn
Lutheran Heritage Foundation Executive Director

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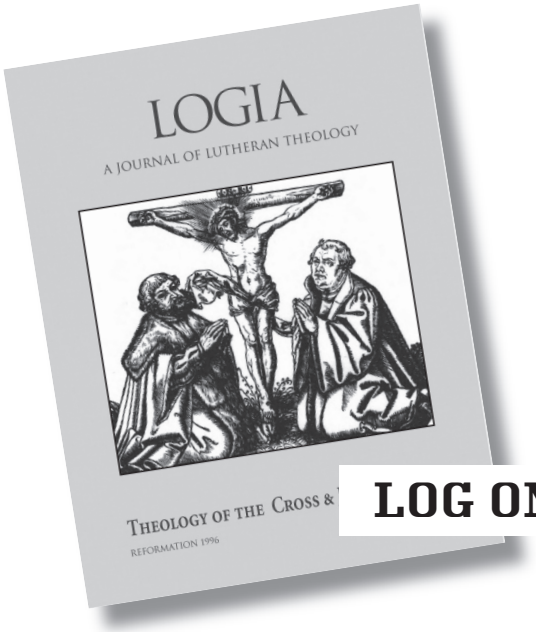

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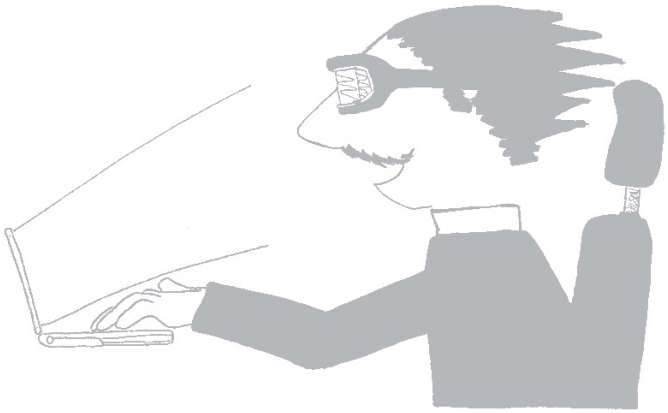

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